MATERIAL ASPECTS OF READING IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL CULTURES

MATERIALITY, PRESENCE AND PERFORMANCE

Edited by Anna Krauß, Jonas Leipziger,
Friederike Schücking-Jungblut

Material Aspects of Reading in Ancient and Medieval Cultures

Materiale Textkulturen

Schriftenreihe des Sonderforschungsbereichs 933

Herausgegeben von
Ludger Lieb

Wissenschaftlicher Beirat:
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Band 26

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Acknowledgements

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Material Aspects of Reading and Material Text Cultures

An Introduction

Material Text Cultures and Text-Anthropologies

Reading and its different practices and modes belong to the most important forms of the reception of script-bearing artefacts, covering a wide range of perceptive modes in the reception of writing.[1] There are manifold possible approaches how to analyse reading. The main reason for this is the fact that the act of reading is dependent on several variables, e. g. material and formal aspects of the writing surface and the writing itself, the text, the reader, and the context(s) in which something is read. As Sterponi puts it: "[R]eading positions one in a web of culturally stipulated relations between bodies, minds, and texts as artifacts and symbols."[2]

As the title of this volume indicates, the main focus here lies on the *material aspects* of inscribed artefacts and their influence on the act of reading. Although it is not the material artefact, but the text written on it, that is the actual object of reading, the reception of texts is inextricably linked to the material objects bearing them.[3] While the media and artefacts of writing have not been at the forefront of research on reading and reading practices for a long time, the beginning of the digital age and with it the de-materialisation of texts brought into focus also the materiality of non-/pre-digital objects of reading. Starting with the reconstruction of the meaning of (printed) books for the interpretation of their content in the merely French history of the books in the late 1970s and 1980s (esp. Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier) the materiality of the artefacts of reading has increasingly been taken into consideration both in the research on reading practices and in a wide variety of historical and philological disciplines.[4] Accordingly, the present volume joins an ever-growing field of research.[5]

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1 Cf. Berti et al. 2015, 639.
2 Sterponi 2008, 558 f.
3 Cf. e. g. Rautenberg/Schneider 2015a, 95.
4 Cf. Littau 2006, 24 f.; Rautenberg/Schneider 2015a, 92–101.
5 One example of the growing interest in the material aspects of reading can be found in the most

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Focusing on material aspects means to aim at the centre of reading and reading practices since the physical characteristics of an inscribed object relate to all the aspects of reading mentioned above. On the one hand, both the object and its inscription are shaped by cultural conventions. This does not only refer to the practical and technical aspects of producing an inscribed object which is based on a culture's shared know-how. It also refers to the way in which the producers expected this object to be used based on the shared norms or standards of a reading community's reading practice(s). That is to say that "the specific forms of literacy are defined by the nature of objects and social settings that mediate and shape the practices of writing and reading."[6] On the other hand, the material and formal features of such an inscribed object influence a reader's handling and reception of both the object and the text. In short: The practice of reading with all its facets cannot be separated from its material preconditions. Moreover, the material artefacts are the only direct access to past reading communities and their respective reading practices.[7] This point is of utmost importance to this volume as the articles are all dealing with such past reading communities. Furthermore, all of these reading communities are placed in a non-typographical setting, i. e. they had no means for an automated mass production of manuscripts and such like. The obvious downside of choosing reading communities which no longer exist as an object of investigation is the simple fact that one is unable to question the actual members about their reading practices or performance of texts. The great advantage of reading communities set in a non-typographical society, however, is that all inscribed objects are unique copies and were each produced for a specific context and mode of reception. While the production of texts for a specific context and mode of reception also holds true for modern day literary production, the individuality of objects inscribed by hand allows for a greater distinction between different reading practices. This is especially important for the comparison of inscribed objects which display texts of the same genre within the same social setting.[8]

While it seems perfectly clear that there is a connection between inscribed objects, reading practices, and readers and that the only direct access to the reading practices of past reading communities lies within the preserved artefacts, it is still necessary to define a methodological "key" which can unlock the information held by the inscribed objects. How can some*thing* tell us anything about the actual (or at least

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recent edition of the German compendium *Lesen: Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch* (2015) which includes a major part on "Reading in different media" focussing mainly on scrolls, codices/books, newspapers/journals and digital media (Rautenberg/Schneider [eds.] 2015, 255–380: "2.2 Lesen in unterschiedlichen Lesemedien") while its predecessor (Franzmann et al. [eds.] 1999) did only have two smaller paragraphs on print- and digital media.

6 Perri 2008, 694.

7 Hilgert 2010, 97: "Man ist zwangsläufig an die nicht-menschlichen, materiell-gegenständlichen Komponenten dieser Praktiken verwiesen, an die […] *Artefakte*, die ihm [viz. the researcher] als 'Kulturzeugnisse' zur Verfügung stehen" (emphasis original); cf. also Hilgert 2016, 261.

8 See e. g. the article of Pajunen in this volume.

probable) actions of persons? Is it possible, and if so, how, to distinguish between routinely exercised practices and singular interactions of humans with script-bearing artefacts?[9] To approximately describe reading practices based on an inscribed object, one needs to take into account not only the material context, but also the situational and spatial context in which it was found or to which it (presumably) belonged as well as the human actions that caused this context (presence of the artefact).[10] While the texts must, of course, also be a part of the analysis, a purely text-oriented approach runs the risk to leave out the humans who produced and interacted with the inscribed object itself.[11]

Three epistemic "tools" can be used to unlock the information in a script-bearing artefact:[12]

a) the material profile: analysis of the material and physical characteristics of an object as well as the practical consequences resulting from these characteristics;
b) the topology: analysis of the spatial disposition of an object, regarding both its material and social environment;
c) the "praxeography": analysis of the singular actions and routinely exercised practices linked to an object.

All three of these fields are, of course, mutually related to each other. Their analysis can be summarised by a term introduced by Markus Hilgert as "praxeologisch orientierte Artefaktanalyse" (the praxeologically oriented analysis of an artefact).[13]

According to this method the questions this volume and its precursory conference addressed were the following:

- How do aspects of the material on which something is written influence the act of reading and vice versa?
- How do the practices pertaining to texts in certain social settings relate to those texts' materiality?
- What kind of conclusions can be drawn from the material circumstances (e. g. *mise en page* or *mise en texte*) regarding the manner of reading and its social context?
- How do materiality, orality and—if applicable—mnemonic devices affect one another?
- What can be said about the material presence of writings and their secondary uses (magical implications, e. g. amulets, Mezuzot, Tefillin)?
- What observations about the material aspects of reading can be made with respect to the differentiation between codex and scroll?

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9 For the distinction between practices and singular actions cf. Dickmann/Elias/Focken 2015, 135.
10 Cf. Hilgert 2016, 262f.
11 Cf. Dickmann/Elias/Focken 2015, 138.
12 For the following cf. Focken et al. 2015, 129; Hilgert 2016, 265.
13 Cf. Hilgert 2010, 114f.

Skope of the Volume and Summaries of the Contributions

The articles in this volume represent a wide cultural and temporal variety of reading communities from ancient Egypt to medieval Judaism. The geographical area they span reaches from the circum-Mediterranean area to central Europe. Their common ground is the non-typographical nature of the inscribed objects and the (predominantly) religious or ritual setting for which they were created. As the conference on which this volume is based was initialised within the framework of the Collaborative Research Center 933 *"Material Text Cultures"* by the Heidelberg Center for Jewish Studies and the Faculty of Theology, Heidelberg University, most of the contributions originate from Biblical and Jewish Studies. The other contributions do not merely fill chronological gaps, they first and foremost offer most helpful insights into (chronologically as well as geographically) neighbouring reading communities and therefore fill highly important information-gaps.

Due to the wide range of time and the geographical spread that the different articles deal with, the editors decided to arrange them in an approximate chronological sequence:

The first contribution dealing with Ancient Egypt (Christoffer Theis) is followed by a number of articles on the material evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls (Lindsey Askin, Laura Quick, Mika Pajunen, Friederike Schücking-Jungblut, Yehudah Benjamin Cohn, Antony Perrot). Since the Dead Sea Scrolls are the oldest extensive script-bearing artefacts preserved from Ancient Judaism in the souther Levant, their analysis promises valuable insights into both the early reception of the Hebrew Bible and reading practices in Ancient Judaism as a whole. The studies assembled in this volume address material aspects concerning groups of manuscripts—defined from both formal and content-related aspects—, the layout of scrolls and their parts, and different aspects of reading and reception practices. Following this, the next two contributions deal with the shaping of the codex as a new materiality of reading in Antiquity—one with regard to a special type of codex (Andrea Jördens), and the other to a Jewish background of Greek Bible codices (Jonas Leipziger). The following articles address different ancient and medieval religious communities as well as their attitudes towards reading and its material aspects—early Christianity (Jan Heilmann, Christoph Markschies) and Rabbinic (Daniel Picus) and medieval Judaism (Binyamin Goldstein).

Based on two case studies, **Christoffer Theis** ("Material Aspects of Rituals Beyond Their Instructions") examines the preparation and performance of rituals and their material aspects in Ancient Egypt. From the preserved texts and objects he analyses, he is able to show that the performance of a ritual must not necessarily correspond to its written instruction—a result that completely differs from the scholarly perspective on Ancient Eyptian rituals and their instructions up to now. As Theis demonstrates, there are individual scopes for Egyptian rituals and the concrete

materiality of the *materia sacra* is more important than the correct performance or reading of the text—at least for the two examples used in this article.

Opening the sequence of articles on the Dead Sea Scrolls, **Lindsey Askin** ("Scribal Production and Literacy at Qumran. Considerations of Page Layout and Style") reflects on the character of literacy at Qumran and, hence, the essential precondition of the rich legacy of script-bearing artefacts found in the Judean Desert. She shows that the Qumran scrolls reflect scribal practices witnessed in manuscripts throughout Egypt and the Mediterranean. Studying both the material evidence and the self-presentation of the *yachad*, the group that in all likelihood owned the enormous library, she emphasises that copying manuscripts was an important but not the epitomising activity at Qumran. She, thus, makes a case for a re-evaluation of how all the manuscripts got to the secluded place near the Dead Sea.

In the following contribution ("Scribal Habits and Scholarly Texts. Codicology at Oxyrhynchus and Qumran"), **Laura Quick** analyses the Aramaic court tales from Qumran against the background of the Greek novel tradition preserved at Oxyrhynchus. As it is the case for the Greek novels that cannot be described as lower-class-literature, her analysis shows that—unlike previous research—there is no distinction between scholarly and non-scholarly Aramaic texts and the scribes that produced them. Writing (and reading) in the ancient world was an elite practice regardless of whether the product can be characterised as fiction or non-fiction.

Mika Pajunen ("Reading Psalm and Prayer Manuscripts From Qumran") examines 119 manuscripts from Qumran classified as psalms or prayer manuscripts. He presents typical characteristics of these artefacts, concerning writing material, layout, language and handwriting, and investigates the readability of the written texts based on factors like script size and the spacing of lines, words, and letters. From this, he establishes criteria in order to tentatively classify the manuscripts into one of the three categories "public ritual use", "private piety", and "not formatted for ritual use". His analysis, thus, provides a frame to consult the manuscripts as to their intended use.

The following article by **Friederike Schücking-Jungblut** ("Reading the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Observations on Material, Layout, and Text") focuses on one group of the manuscripts included in Pajunen's survey, the ten scrolls containing the *Shirot Olat haShabbat* among the Dead Sea Scrolls. By examining material, layout-related, and (meta-)textual elements, she is able to make educated guesses on the intended reading and reception practices of these manuscripts. Schücking-Jungblut shows that at least some of the manuscripts were likely used in a public liturgical reading, in which the composition was recited in (weekly) parts.

Yehudah B. Cohn ("Reading Material Features of Qumran *Tefillin* and *Mezuzot*") examines the group of small slips from Qumran identified from material and textual aspects as *tefillin* and *mezuzot* manuscripts. In assessing his survey, he stresses the degree of diversity with regard to the verses written on the slips, their format, and *mise-en-page*. He furthermore concludes that these results prove the non-existence

of a fixed set of rules concerning *tefillin* and *mezuzot* at Qumran—neither can they be interpreted as evidence for a proto-*halakhah* nor do they follow a specific sectarian practice. Notwithstanding that, he claims, the slips and their housings can best be seen as amulets against premature death.

In the final contribution dealing with evidence from Qumran, **Antony Perrot** ("Reading an Opisthograph at Qumran") also focuses on a group of manuscripts held together by their material features. He analyses the opisthograph manuscripts found in Qumran and asks how the reading of these particular manuscripts was "performed", given the particularity of being written recto and verso. His article shows that opisthograph manuscripts arranged horizontally have been written by the same hand or at least in the same period, were meant for a liturgical occasion, and, thus, can be seen as a prefiguration of the later codex-form; opisthographs arranged vertically, however, follow needs of either re-use or collation and have rather not been read continuously.

In her contribution ("Codices des Typs C und die Anfänge des Blätterns" [= "Type C-Codices and the Origins of Page Turning]) that is printed in German due to the author's request, **Andrea Jördens** presents multiple evidence for the so called "type c-codex", that has not systematically been described so far. A "type c-codex" consists of single sheets of papyrus or parchment, being joined to some kind of "loose-leaf collection". Presenting examples of such codices, Jördens examines the different types of bookbinding, namely by double holes, which can already be found in the third millennium BCE in the context of ancient wooden or wax tablets. Her results may also question the often-ascribed role of the Christian community in the emergence and implementation of the codex.

Jonas Leipziger ("Ancient Jewish Greek Practices of Reading and Their Material Aspects") concentrates on ancient, Greek speaking Judaism and its Greek bible. He presents a selection of manuscripts and other material evidence, questioning the format of the codex and the presence of so-called *nomina sacra* as exclusively Christian markers of manuscripts' identity. He shows that *nomina sacra* can also be found in Jewish artefacts, dating from the second/third century onwards so that their presence in artefacts can no longer be regarded as an exclusively Christian scribal feature. In consequence, also a Jewish origin of Greek Bible manuscripts containing *nomina sacra* and previously considered as Christian cannot be excluded. To the contrary, Leipziger works out that the format of the codex can be understood as an important, but long neglected feature of Greek Jewish literary heritage.

The following article ("Reading Early New Testament Manuscripts. *Scriptio continua*, 'Reading Aids' and Other Characteristic Features") by **Jan Heilmann** also addresses the so-called *nomina sacra* although in another context. He examines, whether this feature or other "reading aids" or "lectional signs" in early papyri of the New Testament help to identify manuscripts formatted for public use. After arguing that reading *scriptio continua* did not present any particular difficulties for ancient readers, he discusses the material dimension of an assumed connection between

specific features of early New Testament manuscripts and their actual use, especially in early Christian worship. While in scholarship diacritics (breathings, accents, diaereses), apostrophes, ektheseis, paragraphoi, or the *nomina sacra* have been taken as criteria of an assumed public or liturgical setting, Heilmann is able to show that these "reading aids" do not permit to infer their primary context of use at all.

Christoph Markschies held a keynote lecture at the conference on which this collection is based that is also included in this volume ("What Ancient Christian Manuscripts Reveal About Reading [and About Non-Reading]"). Whereas the preceding contribution focuses on details within script-bearing artefacts, Markschies deals with their intellectual and institutional framework. He questions the characterisation of early Christianity as a "textual" or "reading community" by investigating the literacy of leading figures on the one hand and the handling of books in Christian communities on the other hand. He is able to show that there was a considerable number of *illiterati* and analphabets even among the bishops. Furthermore, also the presence of (biblical) books cannot be taken as evidence for a widespread practice of careful reading, as they frequently served as magical objects or items of liturgical veneration. Markschies, thus, concludes from his examples that early Christian communities can hardly be described as "reading communities" although, of course, books and written artefacts did play a major role in early Christianity.

From early Christianity the focus then shifts to ancient and medieval Judaism. In the first contribution of this group ("Reading Regularly. The Liturgical Reading of Torah in its Late Antique Material World") **Daniel Picus** examines the formation of the *parashah*, i. e. the liturgical units of text that were read in synagogues according to Rabbinic thought. He presents three sets of criteria that the rabbis of late antiquity took into consideration when they excerpted portions of the Torah into *parshiyyot* for reading: performative or liturgical criteria, content-based or thematic criteria, and physical criteria. By studying Rabbinic discourses on the formation of the liturgical units of Torah, he identifies the function of these criteria and uses them to identify the rabbis' orientation towards and understanding of the biblical texts.

In the final contribution of this volume, **Binyamin Goldstein** ("Encountering the Grotesque. The Material Scribal Culture of Medieval Jewish Magic") presents an exemplary survey of unusual and grotesque writing materials in medieval and early modern Jewish magic scribal culture. His examples predominantly stem from unpublished Hebrew and Aramaic manuscripts from the Vatican library, showing a variety of unusual materials. He demonstrates that in many cases there is a clear correspondence between the media prescribed and the intended effect: the writing material, thus, makes evident the desired effect or locus of effect of the spell. But this materialisation of the magical texts decreases in early modern times, as grotesque writing material is significantly less frequently employed from the 15th century onwards.

All in all, the articles of the present volume illuminate how including the interpretation of material aspects can further the research on reading and reading practices. Material and technical details of the artefacts and their inscriptions give

hints as to what the objects where meant or used for and by whom. Including these aspects into the research on ancient reading practices and interpreting them leads to new or enhanced theories on the presence and practices of reading in past communities. On the other hand, many contributions do also reveal the limits of such an approach: in most cases it is simply impossible to get beyond theses on the intended reading practices. The actual performances of the written word are gone with their actors and cannot be brought back—not even by the material remains of their reading practices.

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Christoffer Theis

Material Aspects of Rituals Beyond Their Instructions

1 Introduction

From Ancient Egypt—as from other regions of the eastern Mediterranean world in Antiquity—many different rituals are passed down, inscribed on various materials as temple walls, papyri or ostraca. From a certain point of view, it seems that almost everything in Ancient Egypt is or can be connected to some sort of ritual: From inscriptions in tombs or temples to depictions of priests or pharaohs in the same sources, rituals occur in almost every part of the land and in almost all periods, spanning for over three millennia. However, beside the depictions and texts, 'real' archaeological remains of specific rituals are of very small quantity.[1] In some instances, remains of rituals are preserved and found by modern archaeologists, still preserved *in situ* and clearly to be connected to a specific text. These ritual remains make it possible, to get an insight into the performance of rituals in Ancient Egypt. The aim of the present paper is to try to give an insight into the objectives behind the preparation and performance of rituals by examining archaeological remains and especially by comparing the finds with the written sources. Bringing together the at-hand material from antiquity and the connected texts, which present the ritual outline and its performance, an insight into the actions and operations of priests or private individuals in antiquity becomes possible.

The main question concerning these sources is: were rituals performed according to the text *every* time and/or according to *every* word? And if not, what could be a possible explanation? Is there a scope for rituals beyond the ritual text? Was it possible for an acting person, to change the ritual arrangement away from the text, and how was this possible? And finally, how can we try to explain these inconsistencies, which can be recognized in the archaeological material: Did the ancient priests not read the ritual instructions correctly or is the material aspect of the ritual and the materiality of the *materia sacra* the much more important point, more than the accurate reading and understanding? Or can this scope be explained by personal preferences of the ancient recipients or customers of the different rituals?

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1 A comparable situation can be found in Mesopotamia. E. g. the ritual K2000+et al. about statuettes and figurines made from clay from the eighth or seventh century BC mentions objects, which should be buried beneath a temple during its construction, cf. Ambos 2004, 76ff., 55–166; Borger 1973, 176–183; Theis 2014a, 253–255, 377–380 with further literature. These figurines are quite close to the ones in the ritual instructions, but clearly not completely.

2 Performing rituals in Ancient Egypt—Scholarly points of view

Due to the immense quantity of sources for rituals in Ancient Egypt, it is not very remarkable that some statements about the performances of these rituals can be found in the literature. However, it is interesting that for most of these statements the archaeological sources have never been taken into account. In summary, the main opinion is that a rite had to be and actually was performed *stricto sensu* as it is written, the performance could not be changed without losses, and/or that the procedure of a rite had to be congruent with the original pattern in any circumstance. This opinion is represented by numerous statements in the literature; some of these shall be quoted as examples to illustrate the modern point of view. Jan Assmann describes the purpose of Egyptian rituals as follows:

> Der Ritus verbietet seinem Wesen nach die Veränderung, denn hier geht es um den präzisen Vollzug einer Vorlage mit dem Ziel, jede Durchführung mit allen vorhergehenden zur Deckung zu bringen, um dadurch die Zeit selbst in ihrem Ablauf zu erneuern.[2]

This is comparable to the view of Wolfgang Helck:

> Zunächst ging jede schöpferische Macht vom König aus, der als Weltgott [...] galt. Alle Handlungen, die auf die Welt einwirkten, musste er persönlich durchführen. Dadurch wurde seine Handlungsfreiheit stark beschränkt, und er musste sich eng an die in Ritualen festgelegten Vorschriften halten.[3]

Assmann and Helck see the *stricto sensu*-performance of priests and the king himself as a method for the preservation of the world, the lapse of time and their own regeneration. For instance, the so-called Sed-festival was a ritual for renewing the might of the ruler and the situation has been expressed by Brian M. Fagan in the following way:

> The Heb-Sed festival, one of the greatest ceremonies of state, was performed exactly 30 years after the king's accession—and at more frequent intervals later in the reign.[4]

The performance after a period of thirty years has been commonly accepted in the discussion, but from Ancient Egypt there are many divergent regnal years attested for the first Sed-festival,[5] so with that, there was only a tendency, but not an *exact* date in *every* instance.

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2 Assmann 2001, XIII; 2006, 97. Cf. Biedermann 2014, 56.
3 Helck 1981, 83.
4 Fagan/Garrett 2001, 80.
5 Cf. Hornung/Staehelin 1974, 53–57, for sources 16–43; 2006, 13–32; see also Helck 1987, 123ff.

Another point of view was expressed by Reinhold Merkelbach:

> Statt vorwärts zu denken, haben die Ägypter rückwärts geblickt und gemeint, allein Befolgung der überlieferten, heiligen Rituale könne helfen. [...] Die Ägypter haben sich getäuscht, wenn sie glaubten, die korrekte Durchführung der Zeremonien werde das Heil des ganzen Landes bewirken.[6]

This tries to explain the performance of rituals with an intense trust in old rituals and the belief that only a strict adherence to a traditional, holy ritual can be helpful. A comparable point of view was expressed by Adolf Erman about the so-called archaism of the 26th dynasty with "Man nahm offenbar alles, was nur alt und seltsam war, und frug nicht erst lange danach, wo es herstammte, und ob es jemals ernstlich Geltung gehabt hatte".[7]

The procedure of consequent ritual performance according to every written word was also presumed for particular rituals, for example for the ritual slaughtering by Rosalie David with "according to strict ritual procedures";[8] for the temple ritual by Robert Carlson with "These rituals had to be performed three times a day in every temple, no matter how big or small[9] and by Serge Sauneron with "The daily cult ritual [...] took place simultaneously, and in almost exactly the same form, in each and every Egyptian temple [...] what was carried out, each and every day.";[10] and for the embalming ritual by Peter F. Kupka with "Alle minutiösen Vorschriften und das ausführliche Ritual [...] sowie die vorgeschriebene Zeitdauer mußten strenge eingehalten werden."[11] A comparable view can be found in papers concerning religious rituals in other cultures, e. g. with "There were correct procedures for almost every activity and the failure to follow correct ritual was a matter for shame."[12]

Trying to summarize the abovementioned theses, we can enunciate one sentence: 'Every ritual in Ancient Egypt in every period was performed by everybody according to every written word of the specific ritual text in every instance'. A summary like this consequentially leads to the question: How do we know? How do we know today, if a ritual in a temple or another place was held or performed strictly according to the texts or especially to a specific ritual instruction? Do we have the possibility to establish another point of view or do we have to follow the abovementioned sentiments? Was there possibly some 'scope' of variation in Egypt? And if a priest could perform a variant of a ritual, the query comes up: What could have been the reasons for such a differing interpretation of a ritual and how can we detect such acting today? Is it

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6 Merkelbach 2001, 310.

7 Erman 1968, 321. Cf. for other points of view concerning the Late Period Neureiter 1994, 222–233.

8 David 2005, 193.

9 Carlson 2015, 40.

10 Sauneron 2000, 89; cf. David 1998, 112.

11 Kupka 1894, 176.

12 Freeman 2004, 240.

possible to decide, if a ritual in Ancient Egypt was performed according to a strict adherence to the written instruction?

It is obvious that questions like the aforementioned can never be answered for all periods or all rituals in Ancient Egypt, due to the simple fact that for most of the rituals no archaeological remains are preserved and that some rituals do not even produce remains, e. g. the scattering of incense in a temple, the running of a Pharaoh around two markers, the burning of a small figurine made from wax, or the specific methods of slaughtering an animal.

3 According to the text or not? Two case studies of Ancient Egyptian rituals

From Ancient Egypt, only in a few instances archaeological remains of specific rituals are preserved and can be compared to written instructions. A comparison of the preserved material can shed new light on the handling of a ritual in Egypt, and presumably on the course of action of priests. I will try to answer some of the abovementioned questions with two case studies—two specific rituals, which are preserved through text(s) *and* object(s). Especially the combination of both types, manufactured archaeological remains and the associated text(s), allows an insight into the understanding, on how a ritual was executed. For all the subsequently mentioned material, we have to bear in mind that most of the sources are lost due to the immense span of time since the performance of the ritual in Ancient Egypt, and that archaeology in Egypt started as treasure-hunting: Artifacts and especially their exact find-spots are often not very well documented, especially during the 19th century and the start of the 20th century.

3.1 Case study I: Magical bricks and Book of the Dead, chapter 151

For one specific ritual we can be sure that the archaeological remains are in the same context and in the same positions that they were placed in by the ancient priests. The so-called magical bricks are ritual objects for the protection of the tomb and the deceased, which were used from the 18th dynasty onwards.[13] There are many tombs with niches, made for the magical bricks, and in some instances the bricks are still preserved *in situ* after more than three millennia.[14] According to the text, the ritual requires a set of four bricks, as it is described in Book of the Dead, chapter 151d–g.[15]

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[13] Cf. Franzmeier 2010; Régen 2010; Roth/Roehrig 2002; Theis 2014, 538–574; 2015 with further literature.

[14] For the objects see Theis 2014, 540–552; 2015.

[15] Cf. Lüscher 1998; Theis 2014, 556–569.

The ritual performance therefore should consist of inscribing each of the bricks with the specific text in order to receive a particular attribute; finally each brick should be deposited in a small niche, carved into the four walls of the tomb. The distribution should be as follows: a brick with a statuette made from wood in the northern wall (BD 151d), one with a *ḏd*-pillar in the western wall (BD 151e), one with a torch in the southern wall (BD 151f) and one with a statuette of Anubis made from clay in the eastern wall (BD 151g). This specific deposition of the bricks in the walls and especially the sealing of the niches with clay is the reason why these objects are still in the same position after over three millennia and were discovered by archaeologists still *in situ*. The bricks, the niches in the walls and the four specific texts from the Book of the Dead, chapter 151d, e, f and g represent a unique connection of a ritual instruction with archaeological remains.

With the detailed ritual instructions from the Book of the Dead and even with the written text on the bricks themselves on a few examples, a ritual performance according to these texts could be expected. The archaeological remains on the other hand clearly show that only a small number of the bricks found *in situ* were placed in the niche described in the text.[16] These specific archaeological remains clearly show that the text of the ritual described in the Book of the Dead was not put to practice exactly as written. The archaeological evidence attests an entirely different approach by the ancient priests, who used the bricks in a more practical way rather than following the strict instructions described in Book of the Dead, chapter 151.

Despite their 'wrong' placement, these objects still served their specific purpose as protection of the tomb through their materiality, as was already pointed out.[17] However, the practice of perception is different from the ritual text itself. It does not seem to be the literal performance of the text that makes up the important part rather than the object, and with that, the ritual's performance changes. Maybe the text itself does bear ritual effectiveness, but obviously not the strict accordance to the words themselves.[18] With these points, it seems that adhering to the instructions was not the important part of the ritual, because in that case the bricks would have been situated in the correct positions—the difference between the practice of production, which suggests that the text will be fulfilled, and the practice of perception, e. g. the *in situ* placements, are totally different. Applied to the magical bricks, the six hypotheses concerning 'Materiality' and 'Presence' established by Markus Hilgert shed new light on the behavior of priests and their performance of an Ancient Egyptian ritual.[19] Their material is not the material mentioned in the text (unbaked vs. baked clay), but corresponds to, as it was called "sinnhaft regulierte Handlung".[20] The objects took part

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16 Cf. Theis 2014, 551 ff.; 2015, 90.

17 Cf. Theis 2015.

18 Cf. Theis 2015, 91.

19 S. Theis 2015, 92 ff.; for the hypotheses Hilgert 2010.

20 Hilgert 2010, 102.

in the ritual, and their material presence establishes their effectiveness. The magical bricks were not positioned according to the ritual text and the cardinal points, but situated around the sarcophagus in a different arrangement; and with their position in the four cardinal points, the bricks even create a special space by themselves—their presence. The effectiveness of the texts themselves and their energetic part in the ritual are much more important than the performance of the ritual *stricto sensu* literally. If we take a look at the constructional drawings of the tombs with bricks still *in situ*,[21] we can clearly see that even a small number of priests, standing in the different angles and corners could safely determine the correct orientation of the cardinal points by shouting and indicating with their hands—one priest to another priest, from the entrance to the tomb chamber—and with that, the abovementioned thesis can explain the situation in the tombs in a better and more practical way than an explanation based on the alleged inability of the Egyptian priests to determine the correct points. This can convincingly be shown for example in the small tombs of Tutankhamun, KV 62, that of Nefertari, QV 66, that of Śn-nfr, TT 96, that of *P3-sr*, TT 106, or even the large tomb of Horemheb, KV 57: In all of these tombs, built either for a king, a queen or a private person, a priest could either walk in a straight line directly into the tomb chamber and to the niches, or just had to turn once. This easy access without many turning points is a strong counter-argument against the aforementioned inability theory.

3.2 Case study II: One Bes with multiple heads or many 'Beses'?

In Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156, which can be dated to the 26th dynasty (664–525 BC) and originates from Elephantine,[22] two rituals on how to create an amulet with the depiction of a multi-headed god are described *en détail*. It is the god Bes with seven heads in Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156, col. x+IV, 1–x+V, 8 and the god with nine heads in col. x+I, 1–x+III, 8.[23] As an example for the main question, I will use the nine-headed Bes; the comparison with the material for the seven-headed Bes will give a comparable picture. The form of appearance of this specific god is described in col. x+II, 1–4. Despite some lost information due to the state of preservation of the papyrus, the appearance of the god becomes clearly visible through the description:

> The elder one with nine faces on one neck: one is the face of Bes, one is the face of a ram, one is the face of a falcon, one is the face of a crocodile, one is the face of a hippopotamus, one is the face of a lion, one is the face of a bull, one is the face of a baboon, (and) one is the face of a cat. [...] *rḫ.yt*-people under four wings [...] arm. Your back is that of a falcon [...] your feet are uraei, your arms are (equipped with) *wḏ3.t*-eyes, (you have) a blade and a knife in your arms, ᶜ*nḫ*-sign, *ḏd*-pillar (and) *w3ś*-scepter in your hand. There are snak[es] standing upon (your) knees.

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21 Cf. Weeks 2003.
22 Cf. Quack 2013, 256.
23 See the publication of Sauneron 1970 and Theis (forthcoming).

The nine-headed Bes is depicted in the papyrus, complementing the given description in the text (fig. 1). In this depiction, the abovementioned heads, the different scepters in the hands, the four wings, the back of a falcon and the snakes emerging from the knees are clearly visible.
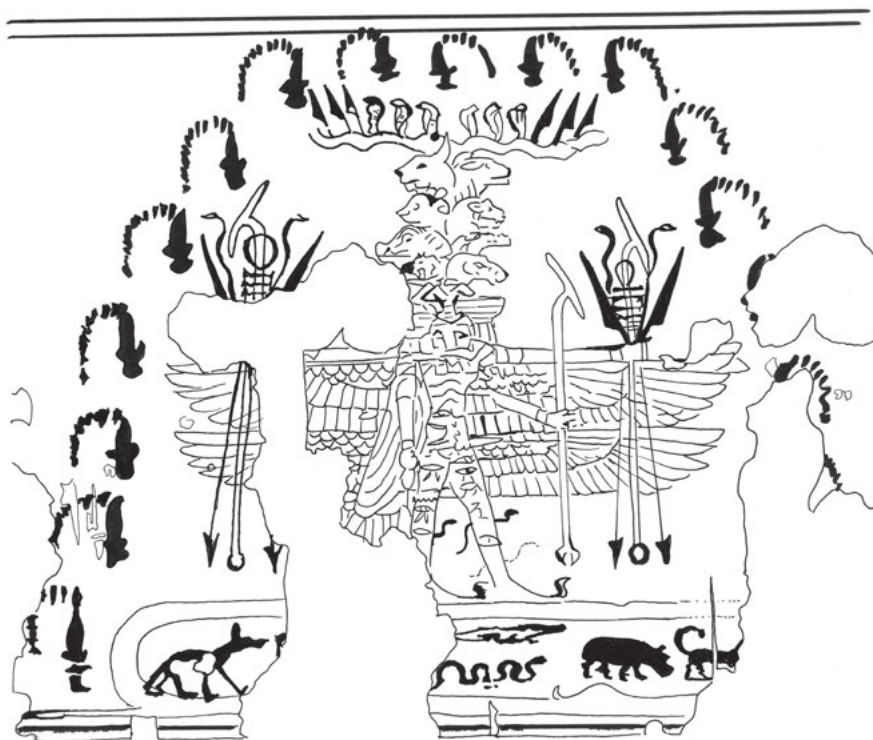
Fig. 1: Depiction of the nine-headed Bes in Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156.

Beside the textual and iconographical references of Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156, there are numerous drawings and statuettes from Ancient Egypt, which clearly depict the nine-headed Bes, and the image of this god is also passed down to the so-called magical gems from late antiquity.[24] The depiction is applied perfectly in e. g. the statuette Paris, Louvre, E 11554.[25] But if we compare other statuettes, which are mainly made from Bronze or Faience, with the given information from Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156, in some instances there are so many differences that we have to ask the question: Is a Bes with alternating heads and symbols *materia magica* for the same ritual or a different one? Due to the fact that the description of the nine-headed Bes in the papyrus

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24 See the collection of the whole material in Theis (forthcoming).
25 Andreu/Rutschowscaya/Ziegler 1997, 186–188, Abb. 93; Kákosy 2002, 276f., 283, Abb. 1.

Fig. 2: Statuette London, British Museum, EA 17169.

is preserved completely, we cannot assume that there had been another description in the same text at any time. Or we have to assume that there were other descriptions of a *different* god with nine heads—it is of course a possibility that there were other papyri with descriptions of multiheaded gods, but an *argumentum ex silentio* is never a strong one. The collection of the material has clearly shown that there are great numbers of statuettes, which depict a nine headed Bes in many different ways[26]—and with that, we would have to assume that there had been the same number of different descriptions on papyri, which are all lost today. Does this approach seem reasonable, or is there a better explanation?

As an example, we can use the statuette London, British Museum, EA 17169 (fig. 2).[27] The heads of this statuette are to be identified as a lion, a falcon, a jackal or a dog and a baboon on the right side, and a bull, a ram, a snake and a crocodile on the left side; the main head is clearly the head of Bes. Nevertheless, the small heads on the side of the main head (jackal or dog and snake) represent a difference to the description in the ritual, where the faces of a hippopotamus and a cat are given. The

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26 See the collection of the whole material in Theis (forthcoming).
27 Unpublished, see the publication in Theis (forthcoming).

depictions of the heads of a jackal and a snake are quite common and can be found on various other statuettes. But there are also other differences: The feet of the statuette are clearly not depicted as snakes, the arms are not presented with *wḏ3.t*-eyes, and the uppermost arms are holding papyrus-plants, but surely no scepters. The crown of the statuette also differs from the depiction in the vignette, but this accessory is not described in the text. With that, not even the vignette is a perfect reproduction of the text itself, because the description of the crown is missing.

A similar situation as with the statuette London, British Museum, EA 17169 can be found in many other objects, and this indication raises the question: Is this nine-headed Bes a ritual object for the ritual described in Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156? The similarities between the object and the text are obvious, despite some minor differences like the abovementioned heads and the *wḏ3.t*-eyes. We cannot assume that a nine-headed Bes with this specific depiction was invented in two different occasions—but how can we explain the different manifestations? The theses, already mentioned for the first case study, can also be applied to the statuettes of Bes—I will give a first insight into my ongoing research on multi-headed depictions of the god Bes.[28]

It is obvious that the manufacturer of the statuette did not read the text correctly or accurately, otherwise he would have applied the given information. However, the statuette clearly belongs to the ritual and we can assume that its materiality and its presence are important for the ritual. The description of Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156, col. x+III, 6sq. is meant for a drawing on a new papyrus. The material itself—a drawing on papyrus vs. a statuette made from Bronze—is not the important factor, but the presence of a multi-headed Bes is fundamental, otherwise the manufacturer would not have been able to change between the materials. We can assume that the statuette also takes part in the ritual in an effective way, in a network of object and actor: for Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156, an amulet was created, which could be hung around a person's neck, but in contrast, the statuette can be disposed in a room besides a person or a bed during the protective ritual, and can also be hung around the neck—this case can perfectly be restored for the statuette Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Inv.-Nr. 57.1437, which was made from Gold and with a small lug on the head,[29] and with the specific depiction, this small mummy with multiple heads is clearly a comparable object to the multiheaded Bes. The statuette and the drawing on Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156 are present (e. g. on the neck, in the bedchamber) in relation to other artefacts or persons, and this presence leads to its effective materiality in the ritual itself.

However, despite these theses, the objects do not have a meaning of their own, they receive their relevance and their significance only within the ritual, through the ascription of meaning by the acting magicians. With that, the different depictions of Bes with multiple heads fulfill the various theses established by Hilgert about a

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28 For the hypotheses, cf. Hilgert 2010.
29 See Steindorff 1946, 158, pl. 103 (no. 715).

'Material-Text-Culture'; a person can read a ritual text incorrectly, the *materia magica* for this specific ritual can be changed, but the multiple heads and at least some parts of the appearance of the god have to be present in or with the object. The information present in the ritual instructions was either not read correctly or accurately or the manufacturer used other parts because the client wanted to have 'an individual' Bes. Despite the given description in the ritual instruction, a Bes, which slightly differs from it, because of the personal wish of the magician and/or the customer, is a Bes, which still belongs to the ritual due to its main features. However, there can be slight alternations from the ritual instruction(s) itself due to the thesis that the material itself creates the effectiveness of the ritual object, much more than an accurate rendering of the specific body parts.

4 Résumé

Unfortunately, only a few ritual remains from Ancient Egypt can be brought into discussion for a comparison with texts. There are many finds and find spots, but most of them have no corresponding textual reference, and vice versa. As it was pointed out by Irene Huber, there are clear factors which hint at the performance of rituals against future plagues and illness in the upper class, but we do not have any hints for the performance of these rituals in the lower social classes.[30] For most of the rituals known from texts, it is quite obvious that no archaeological remains are to be expected, e. g. of the slaughtering of an animal,[31] the running of the Pharaoh around borderstones, the creation of a magical circle with salt,[32] the ritualization of protections spells,[33] or a specific ritual for the coronation.[34] Taking into account the archaeological remains and comparing them to the associated textual sources, it is obvious that the rituals of the aforementioned two case studies do not have to be performed *stricto sensu* as it is written—there are possibilities for the priest to act at will. I want to point out that I do not want to say that no ritual in Egypt was ever performed according to the textual account, but we do have to mention that rituals could be performed in different ways, which were clearly not the way of the texts as we saw in the two case studies.

The two case studies above establish the possibility of an analysis of existence, of materiality, and presence of artefacts with sequences of linguistic signs.[35] Through the observations made for the different rituals and their remains in comparison to

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30 Cf. Huber 2005, 36ff.
31 S. e. g. Derchain 1962 or Säve-Söderbergh 1953.
32 For this specific type of ritual see Theis 2016.
33 S. e. g. Yamazaki 2003.
34 S. Sethe 1906, 202–205.
35 Cf. Hilgert 2010, 105.

the texts, it becomes obvious that there was some kind of scope for rituals in Ancient Egypt, especially for their performance and their material components. We have to differentiate between the materiality of the objects made for the ritual itself or created in its process, and the performance of the ritual: the objects are clearly present in their materiality and thus effective (otherwise they would be totally useless), but the performance including the objects is different from the written words of the ritual texts. From the case studies and the archaeological remains discussed, it becomes evident that in Ancient Egypt these rituals did not have to be performed according to every word of the text, but rather in a way of a ratiocinative or reasonably modulated act. For the second case study, there is also the possibility that the different heads of Bes, which are not mentioned in the ritual, result from personal preferences of the magician or the customer, for whom the statuette was created.

Taking into account the remains from Ancient Egypt concerning the performance of rituals, we can no longer claim that rituals were *every* time in *every* period performed according to *every* word. Instead, they were obviously executed in a more sophisticated way by using different materials, different ways of placement, and further adaptions and adjustments. These alterations could possibly be established by the manufacturer of the statue, the magician, who was in charge of the ritual, or the customer himself—but it is impossible to trace the changes back to a specific individual.

A similar case was found by comparing mummies with the text of the embalming ritual: some of the parameters and acts are attested on a specific corpus of mummies, but not all of the instructions of the ritual itself are attested.[36] However, it is obvious that an accurate comparison of all mummies with the ritual instructions is far from being realistic, and thus the possibility remains that there are some mummies, which were mummified according to the embalming ritual. As it was pointed out, the differences to the text can only be tried to be explained by the materiality of the ritual *materia sacra* in contrast to the actual text. Presumably sometimes a priest or a magician did not read the text of a ritual correctly, but considering the abovementioned remains, the reading does not seem to be the important part, especially not the correct reading of every word—the materiality of the ritual itself seems to have been more important, and therefore, it was acceptable not to read correctly.

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36 Cf. Töpfer 2015, 239, 241.

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Fig. 1: Rebekka-M. Müller after Sauneron 1970.
Fig. 2: Rebekka-M. Müller after a photography by Ilona Regulski (London).

Lindsey A. Askin

Scribal Production and Literacy at Qumran

Considerations of Page Layout and Style

The study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the site of Qumran entails at times a narrative of a "poor intellectual community" of wise and pious scribes and sages—in other words, a scribal centre humming primarily with manuscript production, study, and even composition of new texts.[1] The creators of the Scrolls are regarded as a collective society, still bordering somewhere near the proto-monastic, characterised by exceptional levels of literacy. The unusually high literacy attributed to the Qumran community is reminiscent of that attributed to other social pockets whose written outpourings were preserved by the accident of history such as the workman's village of Deir al-Medina in Egypt. The Scrolls are a collection of between 700 and 900 manuscripts, dating from the mid-third century BCE to mid-first century CE. The scrolls tell us about the activities of writing and reading in early Judaism, about religious thought, biblical interpretation, and the early Jewish literary spirit.[2] The collection is associated with the archaeological site of Khirbet Qumran on the western shore of the Dead Sea due to the geographical and chronological proximity of the twelve caves in which the Scrolls were found and inhabitation of the site during the same era. Locating the provenance of the Scrolls with Qumran is not beyond dispute, but it is close to scholarly consensus.[3] The Scrolls present some of the earliest manuscript witnesses to the Hebrew Bible, offering a glimpse into the life of an early Jewish movement living along the Dead Sea. These manuscripts present a useful material-textual example of the rich religious and literary variety of Judaism before the destruction of the Second Temple of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 CE.

The interpretation of the manuscripts as a whole is based partly on how scholars interpret the Khirbet Qumran archaeological site and its nearby marl caves. One such argument—the Golb hypothesis—describes the deposit of the caves as entirely the result of the Roman siege of Jerusalem in 70 CE.[4] This theory presents challenges because of the proximity of most of the caves to Khirbet Qumran: the main caves are but a stone's throw from the site, and one (Cave 4) is even found on an outcropping of the plateau on which we find the archaeological site. Alternatives to the community hypothesis such as a villa, fortress, or commercial centre, have presented major problems in critical interpretation. With the major operative interpretation of the site of Qumran as the home of a functioning religious community who were responsible

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1 Cf. Lange 2008.
2 Cf. Mroczek 2016.
3 Cf. Stökl Ben Ezra 2007; Baumgarten 2004; Dimant 1995.
4 Golb 1995.

in some way for the Scrolls, recent studies have developed ways in which we can better describe the scrolls collection and its role within the community of Qumran: as a library, a genizah or intentional burial of retired manuscripts, or perhaps a combination of both.[5] Scholars argue for the most part that the *yachad*, or Congregation, deposited most if not all of the scrolls into the caves, and were responsible for their production and maintenance. The overtly literary, philosophical, and religious character of the collection, nearly devoid of documentary (i.e. non-literary) texts, certainly lends weight to the argument that this is a library, purpose-built collection, or purposeful deposit, rather than an accidental deposit preceding the threat of disaster and displacement. The nature of manuscript industry and production, however, has remained a challenge for the study of the Scrolls though, given the small size of the community.

The function and status of scribes at Qumran is often raised to the level of intellectual sages, forming a humble literary community of isolated scholars. Scholarly focus has been on the generation of new texts at Qumran, of innovation and distinctive religious thought. However, recent studies on literacy in antiquity indicate that most scribes had a low or middling socioeconomic status and engaged primarily in administrative functions, and that the copying of literary manuscripts was a low-status task, not the job of a sage or scholar. To do a lot of low-status administrative tasks you need many hands, and the reproduction and maintenance of manuscripts was time-consuming. It was not an envied task, and would not be the responsibility of "higher" thinkers and writers in antiquity.[6] Casting doubt on the consensus of a purely scholarly gathering of souls residing at Qumran, Charlotte Hempel has written on the question of ordinary daily responsibilities at Qumran such as laundry, cooking, cleaning, and trade, questioning the idea that all members of the community were primarily engaged in spiritual or studious activity.[7] Revealingly, and perhaps suspiciously, even Ben Sira advertises the "high" life of a scribe as one who spends his time learning rather than copying texts (Sir 38–39).[8] Our mental picture of the

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5 Cf. Taylor 2012; Wassen/White Crawford (eds.) 2015; Popović 2015; Golb 1990, 1995.

6 Cicero, *Att*. 4.10.1; 4.14.1; 8.11.7; 8.12.6; 9.9.2; 13.31.2, Casson 2001, 73, 157.

7 Hempel 2012.

8 Sir 38:24: "The wisdom of the scribe depends on the opportunity of leisure, and he who has little business may become wise." Sir 38:33: "Yet they [craftsmen and farmers] are not sought out for the council of the people [...] and they are not found using proverbs." Sir 39:1–2, 4: "1 On the other hand, he who devotes himself to the study of the Law of the Most High will seek out the wisdom of all the ancient, and will be concerned with prophecies. 2 He will preserve the discourse of notable men and penetrate the subtleties of parables. 4 He will serve among great men and appear before rulers, he will travel through the lands of foreign nations, for he tests the good and the evil among men." Sir 39:9–11: "9 Many will praise his understanding, and it will never be blotted out; his memory will not disappear, and his name will live through all generations. 10 Nations will declare his wisdom, and the congregation will proclaim his praise. 11 If he lives long, he will leave a name greater than a thousand, and if he goes to rest, it is enough for him." (Revised Standard Version)

average Qumran scribe is rather similar to Ben Sira's celebrated scribe who spends his days at leisure studying wisdom and being widely respected in his community (Sir 38–39). In the Community Rule, at least one member of the community is meant to be studying and interpreting Torah and blessing the community "day and night," with participants relieving each other's study vigils in shifts (1QS 6:6–8). A similar rule is found in the Damascus Document (CD 14:6–8). The rule requires therefore that there are enough members with sufficient ability to carry out these tasks, while at the same time taking for granted the practical maintenance of a dedicated sage's surroundings and sustenance. The "home economics" of Qumran is a topic that makes some rather uncomfortable. Yet the theory of an intellectual scholarly Qumran community, consisting of numerous exegetes, is still in tension with the argument for a vast amount of manuscript production taking place at Qumran itself, alongside considerations of wealth at Qumran.

Studies on literacy in antiquity indicate that scribes' primary functions were accounting and administration, and that the copying of literary manuscripts was usually an occasional, low-status task.[9] On the other hand, the ownership of large book collections is associated with high economic status; such readers would be elite literati such as Ben Sira, not copyist scribes.[10] Other collections such as those of Masada, Wadi Muraba'at, Babatha, and Salome Komaise can provide some context of the size and nature of Jewish text archives during this time.[11]

This study, therefore, is a reflection on the question of the character of literacy at Qumran: whether the scribes of Qumran sages are mostly engaged in studying Torah, or sages who are sometimes copyists, or if they are mainly copyists. Or perhaps, does the study of Torah in some way include a high level of copying manuscripts?

In order to delve meaningfully into the idea of Qumran as a scribal lab or scribal centre of manuscript production, we must necessarily begin with the big picture: many scrolls for a tiny group, and a group prefers to identify itself as mainly scholarly in nature, rather than as copyist scribes. From this perspective, we can think about the purpose of the scrolls as a collection and conduct a holistic analysis: considering elements of style, location, number, size, and quality. Thinking about the scrolls as being most likely the possession or under the protection of the Qumran community, we might ask: why did so many scrolls belong to a single community, if they did? How could, and why would, a small group produce so many books, and why would they keep them all? How many scrolls of Deuteronomy or Psalms does one small community require in a century and a half? Is there anything in the distinctiveness or quality of the scrolls, their layout and style for example, that reflects their purpose and provenance in relation to manuscripts in the rest of the Mediterranean? If we consider the

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9 Cf. Carr 1996; Cribiore 1996, 2001; Harris 1989; Johnson 2004; Johnson/Parker (eds.) 2009; Small 1997; van der Toorn 2007.

10 Cf. Casson (ed.) 2001; Johnson/Parker (eds.) 2009; Sawyer 1982; Thomas 1992.

11 Cf. Cotton/Yardeni 1997; Yadin 1971, 1999.

Scrolls' presentations of themselves as physical manuscripts, their page layouts or *mise en page*, alongside archaeological and socioeconomic factors, we might contend better with the proposal of Qumran as a centre for highly literate sages, an industrious scribal centre, as well as questions of provenance and belonging.

Productivity and Protection

The most widely accepted theory in scholarship at present is that the community of Qumran was "highly productive" as a centre of textual production and learning.[12] This theory is based partly on the discovery of five inkwells at the site and the prevalence of literary texts over documentary sources in the caves. This interpretation— Qumran as an early pious Jewish community that can be thought of as composed of highly literate sages and scribes, or in other words, a "scribal centre"—is not without its own resulting challenges. For one thing, the production of the Scrolls is proposed to fit squarely within the period of inhabitation of the site (100 BCE to 70 CE). However, the size of the group outpaces the grand scale of the collection. The proposal of a genizah deposit centre is one way in which scholars have made sense of the scale of the collection versus the size of the community.[13] Estimating the population of Qumran, Jodi Magness theorises a continual population of around twenty people based on the quantity of bowls for dining—nearly 1000, covering a period of inhabitation over around a century and a half—found in the pantry (Locus 86).[14] Within this framework, the proposed scale of manufacture is difficult to determine, but it is estimated that the small group was "highly" active, even prolific. The provenance of these some nine hundred manuscripts is thought to have originated almost entirely within the hands of a very small close-knit community, working over a time period of around 150 years, with the majority of manuscripts datable to the Herodian period. An estimate of the rate of production would be challenging and contain too many variables, for example the idea that the number of scrolls in the original collection was not much larger than the extant number of scrolls uncovered today. Another variable would be years of intense production followed by less activity.

Judging by the number of different unique texts found in the collection, one can perhaps cautiously estimate a working library of perhaps 200–300 texts at any one time, perhaps more, given the lifespan of a scroll at approximately thirty to forty years from production to the obsolescence, damage, or deterioration that make "retirement" necessary for a manuscript.[15] Given the high number of certain popular

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12 Cf. Stökl Ben Ezra 2007; Wassen/White Crawford (eds.) 2015.
13 Cf. Stökl Ben Ezra 2012; Taylor 2012; Brooke 2005; Stacey 2008.
14 Magness 2002, 2011.
15 Cf. van der Toorn 2007.

manuscripts—Psalms (36 copies); Deuteronomy (30); Genesis (20); Isaiah (21); Exodus (17); Leviticus (15); Numbers (8)—the library must have been either careless or richly funded.[16] The estimate of unique literary manuscripts over time may be somewhere between 500–600 different works, with many texts having only one or two copies. This is a conservative estimate with far too many variables to rest on a satisfactory figure—but nevertheless constitutes an astonishingly high quantity in Mediterranean antiquity. By comparison, a grand library of a Roman elite, such as the library found in the Villa dei Papiri of Herculaneum, preserved by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, held an estimated 1,100 manuscripts, mostly philosophical in nature, and dated between the third century BCE to first century CE. This library was most likely owned by the father-in-law of Julius Caesar, Lucius Calpurnius Piso, who is thought to have been the patron of a modest Epicurean teacher and philosopher called Philodemus.[17] Most individual book collections found in Egypt and at Herculaneum have surfaced private individual collections of manuscripts numbering anywhere between half a dozen to a dozen, with only a couple of private collections containing between fifty or a hundred rolls.[18] The assembly of a large collection, owned collectively by a group, maintaining about 200 or 300 manuscripts would require either large purchases or inheritance of scrolls, or a team of scribes constantly maintaining the number of texts. In sum, while there are variables that make precise estimates impossible, we are left with what is undeniable an unusually major and well-equipped book collection, the size of which was enviable in antiquity. Accounting for the sheer size and quality of this collection, in comparison to other ancient libraries, must be central to any theory concerning the characteristics and makeup of the Qumran community, and to theories concerning the accumulation and production of the Scrolls themselves.

In this light, the "highly productive scribal lab" argument requires a great of industriousness for such a small community that preferred to describe itself as a centre of learning and interpretation rather than of humble book-copying. The "scribal lab" argument also assumes a lack of periods of disaster and difficulty, inertia and turnover, pest damage, environmental erosion from Dead Sea air, or any break from continuous copying. A more reasonable estimate would be the proposal of medium to large donations of manuscripts over time, or perhaps a dependable trickle of a few manuscripts each year, a kind of honorarium or simply donation upon membership. The theory of donation would make sense in light of the community's practice of common ownership, as initiates gave their possessions to the group (1QS 6:25).[19] Scholars such as Charlotte Hempel, George Brooke, and John J. Collins have argued for a plurality of interrelated book collections, the presence of multiple, merging, and

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16 Cf. VanderKam/Flint 2002, 150.

17 Cf. Bowditch 2001; Gold 1987; Johnson/Parker (eds.) 2009; Nauta 2002; Sider 2005; Zarmakoupi (ed.) 2010.

18 Cf. Houston 2009.

19 Cf. Magness 2011, 98.

overlapping libraries over time.[20] Their argument is partly chronological, expressing the way in which we might describe the fluid and evolving ownership of the Scrolls by a community that is shifting and rotating in membership over time. Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra's argument of "old caves" and "young caves" lends to this framework of development and evolution.[21] Hempel's recent theory has put forward the tentative suggestion that Cave 4, in particular, could be characterised as the Restricted Section of the library, since it contained so many of the sectarian texts.[22] Whether arranged by time or theme, the overlapping or interweaving plurality of collections proposed for the Scrolls helps to make sense of the textual plurality of different variant editions of the same texts among the Scrolls, particularly the varying editions of the biblical texts. Plurality and perhaps a steady stream of donated manuscripts from ever-changing membership also permits us to interpret the overlapping book collections across the long lifespan of the community without imagining a rigid, near-constant re-production of books and the composition of new texts. The community might be interpreted even as being conscious of outward signs of wealth. Intentional modesty might therefore explain an overall absence of community wealth or excess is evidenced both by archaeological remains and literature such as 4QInstruction.[23]

While many of the sectarian texts are attributable to the Qumran community, others pre-date the inhabitation of Qumran by the community. Scientific analysis of ink by Ira Rabin and her team have shown that the Thanksgiving Scroll, at least, was most likely composed at Qumran itself. It was found that the chemical composition of its ink closely resembles the mineral composition of elements in the Dead Sea valley.[24] At this early stage, Rabin's analysis confirms the provenance only of the Thanksgiving Scroll (1QH^a), found in Cave 1. The rest of the manuscripts, however, must be estimated by their location in the marl caves surrounding Qumran, as well as palaeographic and literary features.

If we maintain that most scrolls were produced at Qumran, or at least that they were under the care of the community there, what, then, was life like for the individuals caring for, and adding to, this library whose size compares with that of wealthy aristocratic collections? Many of the manuscripts among the Scrolls are what would be called *de luxe* or luxury quality (a great number are in Caves 4 and 11), written on excellent quality parchment with nice scripts and plenty of spacing. Such manuscripts in antiquity would be considered the proviso of the wealthy. From archaeological evidence, there appears to be a large discrepancy between the rich *de luxe* quality of some of the Scrolls and the absence of luxury goods and ornamentation at Khirbet Qumran. Dennis Mizzi has examined how the sparing use of imported red ink

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20 Hempel 2013, 2017a, 2017b; Brooke 2011b; Collins 2010.
21 Stökl Ben Ezra 2007.
22 Hempel 2017b.
23 Cf. Goff 2016; Mizzi 2016.
24 Rabin 2013; Hahn et al. 2009.

and almost total absence of luxury goods such as glass at Qumran pose limitations on how we imagine life at Qumran: economically, the community did not have very much in the way of luxury or comfort.[25] It has been suggested that other luxury goods were looted from Qumran over time. Nevertheless, the site's overall impression is that its inhabitants were, perhaps, industrious and self-sufficient somehow, through trade or patronage, but simply not "upper crust."[26] Similarly, Matthew Goff has shown how the intended readership of 4QInstruction, a fragmentary wisdom text, is aimed particularly at readers of a moderate to lower social status.[27] 4QInstruction probably has origins within the community due to its special attention to divine revelation and special knowledge, although some have argued that the text pre-dates Qumran. Goff highlights how this text gives advice on how to pay one's debts, rather than how to treat debtors, and lacks flourishes of nearness to wealth and power as found in a text such as Ben Sira, who almost revels in the idea of the "high life" of the successful and well-connected urban scribe.[28] Our question, then, is whether the manuscripts themselves as material artefacts and as a valuable and large book collection over the community's long lifespan of activity, resonates with the archaeological evidence of the community as either purposefully modest and frugal, or rather poor and at times struggling to maintain a reasonable level of comfort.

Tablets and Ink?

Evidence of literacy and study can be found within Qumran's literature itself. The texts make frequent mentions of "books" (ספר, ספרים), and interpretation (פשר, דרש). Surprisingly though, the implements of writing—such as ink, inkwell, and pen—are far less common. The word for ink, דְּיוֹ, is not found in the extant texts (only in Jer 36:18, "I wrote the words on the scroll with ink"). The term for inkstand or inkwell, קֶסֶת, is also absent. The word "jar" in general is found twice: 3Q15 (Copper Scroll) 3:4 (describing how in the corners of the Temple courtyard there are many vessels, cups, jars, vases, and how many), and 11Q19 (Temple Scroll) 33:13 (libations and jars). Likewise, עֵט (pen/stylus) is found only once in the non-biblical texts in a quotation and interpretation of Ps 45:1 (4Q171 3–10.iv.26–27: סופר מהיר [/ ולשוני עט] "My tongue is the pen / of a ready scribe, its interpretation concerns the teacher of righteousness.").[29] The tools of the scholar are found a few times by comparison, such as wooden "tablets"[30] (לוח, לוחות):

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25 Mizzi 2010; Mizzi 2016.

26 For the likelihood of an honour/reciprocity culture in ancient Judaism, see Schwartz 2010.

27 Goff 2016.

28 Goff 2016.

29 Cf. Allegro 1968, 45, 47.

30 That the tablets in these passages are probably wooden can be inferred from the same term being used in the Temple Scroll describing planks of wood (11Q19 7:1; 7:3).

1QpHab 6:15 (citing Hab 2:2),[31] 4Q177 (Catena A) 4:12,[32] and 4Q364 26b,e ii lines 5, 8 (although this cites Deut 9:12–18).[33] It is interesting to note this tendency of Qumran non-biblical texts to avoid the discussion of tools of the scribe, in favour of more thoughtful words such as *interpret*, *discern, read*, and *study*.

Besides this, the distribution of documentary texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls is most puzzling. We have relatively few surviving documentary texts and "notebooks" or florilegia, collections of sayings: 4Q174 (4QFlorilegium), 4Q175 (4QTestimonia), 4Q234, 4Q258, 4Q339, 4Q340, 4Q341, 4Q343–359, 4Q360, and KhQ161.[34] There are no letters, but there are very few examples of documentary texts such as accounts of cereals and bookkeeping accounts: 4Q348, 4Q350–351, 4Q354–357, as well as deeds of sale (4Q477, 4Q345, 4Q346) and a document of debt acknowledgement (4Q344). Epistolary texts are scarce (4Q342, 4Q343). Given that documentary texts were important for archives and bookkeeping, their absence from the archives of Qumran gives us some indication of the community's attitudes towards manuscript acquisition.

The question of a scriptorium at Qumran (Locus 30) is beyond the scope of this present study, but it is likely that new texts were indeed composed and copied at Qumran—whether this was in a scriptorium or not is a matter of debate.[35] The focus at Qumran, however, seems to be on the acquisition and maintenance of a primarily literary collection rather than accounts, letters, and archives—the features of household management and industry. Literacy at Qumran, then, seems to take the shape of literature and study, reading and writing, rather than consisting primarily of bookkeeping and copying manuscripts.[36]

Page Layout and Style

Qumran scribal practices of manuscript copying and formatting have been catalogued extensively by Tov, revealing much about Qumran manuscript features such as script size, spacing variation, avoidance of sheet imperfections, the regularity of scribal marks, and overall use of space and balance across columns.[37] In the context

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31 "YHWH answered me and said write the vision, inscribe it on the tablets so that may run [the one who reads it …]"; "God told Habakkuk to write what was going to happen […]", García Martinez/ Tigchelaar (eds.) 1997, 1:16–17.

32 "Now behold everything is written on the tablets", Allegro 1968, 67–68.

33 Cf. Attridge 1994.

34 There is some debate about whether 4Q343–359 originated at Qumran.

35 For a discussion of the scriptorium at Qumran and the probability of writing "furniture" such as tables, please see below; cf. Cribiore 1996, 2001; de Vaux 1961; Metzger 1959; Reich 1995; Skeat 1981.

36 Cf. Hempel 2012; Hempel 2017a.

37 Tov 2004.

of other Mediterranean manuscripts of this period, Qumran manuscripts are similar in terms of technique, style, and strategy.

Looking closer at the page layout and professionalism in examples of Qumran manuscript, typical scribal practices of competent scribes with professional abilities are visible. In the War Scroll (1QM), Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsaᵃ), and the Temple Scroll (11Q19), for example, one can notice the measuring of scroll seams,[38] the tracing of lines,[39] and the measurement of columns overall to fit per sheet. In 1QIsaᵃ 52, for example, there is an unusually slim column that can be interpreted either as a lack of measurement or simply a scribe copying with the imperfections of an unusually shorter sheet of parchment within the scroll. Additionally, there is the presence of a blank end sheet for the protection of the scroll text, given that the beginning and end sheets of a scroll were usually the first to bear the results of damage from use and the first to fall apart (1QIsaᵃ 67). Above all, there are similarities of page layout, the average top and bottom blank spacing resting about an inch above and below, and the style of single-sided justification (where the *beginning* of a line is justified, but not the *end* of that line) as in other Mediterranean manuscripts.[40] This last feature in particular indicates auditory copying rather than visual line-by-line "imprinting" as practiced by scribes in the Middle Ages, where each column was identically measured to begin with the same line. As shown by William A. Johnson, the uneven edges of the lines and particularities of each scroll measuring just slightly differently meant that scribes made every manuscript to measure: no two scrolls of Deuteronomy, or two scrolls of Homer, would begin each column with exactly the same words.[41] Auditory copying indicates the presence of a pair or a team of scribes, and the characteristics of this type of scribal activity as naturally social and cooperative. It is not possible to be certain of whether a scribal mistake is due to visual or oral error, regardless of whether the scribe dictating is reading aloud or reciting from memory. Scribal errors and variants can be the result of hearing incorrectly (oral error), from a scribe disagreeing with the dictated manuscript, or from reading aloud incorrectly (visual error such as parablepsis); furthermore, the scribe reciting might also later check the work of the scribe taking dictation, noticing a mistake or two. There are several opportunities for a mistake to enter a manuscript, just as there are opportunities for it to be corrected. In this way, oral/visual error cannot be distinguished with great precision.

Above all, the features of professional copying practices are visible throughout Qumran manuscripts, indicating the high level of competence among their contemporaries in the Mediterranean. Given this professionalism, the manuscripts of Qumran are not crafted in a way that is less professional or distinct from other manuscripts of their time. Additionally, although the orthography of Qumran manuscripts has been

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38 For example, the seams between columns in 1QM 4–5, 10–11, 14–15.

39 For example, 1QIsaᵃ.

40 Cf. Johnson 2004, 39–84.

41 Johnson 2004, 39–84.

given attention in scholarship, the presence of distinctive local orthographies characterises book production in pre-print, pre-industrial cultures. Although it is possible to infer something about the economic level of the community from the absence of red ink in the scrolls, this practice too may be the result of preference over necessity. As argued by Brooke, the choice of parchment over papyrus, for example—perhaps the most distinctive trait of the Qumran scrolls—may simply be a matter of cultural preference rather than economy.[42] Likewise, studies on the cost and expense of papyrus have shown that papyrus was not unreasonably expensive.[43] While it was certainly a luxury good beyond the budget of a poor labourer, the cost of a manuscript seems to be mainly in the time and expense spent in having a scribe sit and copy it, rather than the materials themselves.

The neat and uncluttered spacing of so many Qumran scrolls, again, seem to be based on the importance of the text. Important texts such as the War Scroll and Temple Scroll, as well as many of the biblical scrolls (particularly Psalms, Deuteronomy, and Isaiah) display larger spacious text and uncluttered layouts, with orderly columns and lines that are not squeezed together. By comparison, less important texts display smaller script size, and some are even written on papyrus, perhaps indicating draft copies.[44] In sum, the signs of poverty or low socioeconomic status cannot be easily found in the features of the Qumran manuscripts themselves.

The scrolls as a collection, it may be suggested, do reflect wealth and prosperity. The outward signs of moderation and frugality seem to be confined to goods and possessions, such as a lack of imported glass objects and a preference for cheaper, local goods.[45] The Scrolls collection therefore resist association with the idea of community members toiling away endlessly at manuscript production, or a majority of ascetic sages rejecting all outward signs of wealth in favour of study. Either of these theories would be problematic, reminiscent of European monastic communities of the Middle Ages. The act of study in a large library, it has been argued, is not easily compatible with poverty—whether by choice or necessity. The sheer quantity of the Scrolls makes this issue plain: a large book collection is itself a clear sign of expense and wealth. The maintenance of a large book collection is accompanied by a cost for security (such as *armoria* or locked chests), and the recurring costs of maintaining and replacing scrolls damaged by time, pests, or climate.

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42 Brooke 2017.
43 Skeat 1995.
44 Cf. Brooke 2011a.
45 Cf. Mizzi 2010.

Conclusions

The price of acquiring, maintaining, and protecting a large library is food for thought. The question of literacy at Qumran recommends a closer look at the purpose of large-scale manuscript production: for whom, and how, and at what cost can a large collection of such a rich and diverse accumulation of books be kept? Regardless of the retirement of damaged scrolls in a genizah, even the retirement and safekeeping of old scrolls bears weight on the nature of this library as one that is both well-planned and well-maintained, thoughtfully organised and generously replenished over time.

At the heart of this debate, it is uncertain whether the average Qumran scribe is more labouring copyist (to keep pace with renewing a Scroll collection without external assistance, as widely imagined), or whether they are more thoughtful, pensive sage, full of ideas and interpretations, new compositions and teaching ability. It is certain that the size of the collection reflects a community that values study and interpretation above all. In addition to the preference for literary over documentary texts, this bookish tendency is also reflected in the vocabulary of reading, interpreting, and studying within Qumran literature itself. We must account somehow for the reticence of Qumran on the subject of scroll-copying activity, given the extraordinary size of the Dead Sea Scrolls as a book collection(s). The tension between the assumption of scribal activity, and the *yachad* community's self-presentation as a collection of pious studious sages occupied with learning rather than endless copying, is a problem that cannot be resolved by proposals of a quasi-monastic sociographic theory.

The material aspects of the manuscripts themselves are neither idiosyncratic nor amateurish. Rather, they reflect scribal practices witnessed in manuscripts throughout Egypt and the Mediterranean. The inhabitants of Qumran shared much in common with other sages and scribes of their time, but they clearly held themselves distinctive in certain ways. For one thing, they felt comfortable with the ownership of a library whose size was much larger than most individual libraries and can be better characterised as being of an institutional or public size, despite the small size of their community and their location on a small plateau within a remote valley on the edge of the Dead Sea. The location of the Scrolls, it may be suggested, is like moving the British Library to the Isle of Skye, or the Library of Congress to Alaska—and then cutting their vast numbers of invaluable staff by a significant percentage. Large libraries require equally large efforts and energies to remain so.

Based on the physical features of these scrolls, as well as their size and quantity, the accumulation of scrolls at Qumran was likely supported by acquisition and charitable donation, whether through the influx of new members contributing their books, or by distant pious patrons. The copying of manuscripts was an important, but not the epitomizing, activity of Qumran. Reading and studying Torah appear to have been more outwardly valued. It has been shown that copying and writing activity in general are rather curiously left out of *yachad* self-presentation, with preferences instead for study and learning. Equally central to the puzzle is the maintenance of a

book collection that would satisfy the idealised expectations of a scholarly output bent on the pious tasks of continuing study, steady composition, and the "increase of learning." The textual aspects of Qumran, in a myriad of ways, extol the virtues of reading books, but not copying them. The acquisition of books did not seem to be a problem for the *yachad* community. The resulting problem for modern scholars is a tension between conflicting images: the modern interpretation of the poor, ever-copying scribe, and the self-stylised Qumran image of the focused, ever-studying sage. To resolve such a dilemma, there must be a more flexible re-evaluation of acquisition, maintenance, and production of books at Qumran.

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Laura Quick
Scribal Habits and Scholarly Texts

Codicology at Oxyrhynchus and Qumran

My interest in a comparative codicological approach to ancient Jewish manuscripts was preempted by a disjuncture that I had begun to notice between scholarship on two different genres written in Aramaic and recovered from among the literary finds from the Dead Sea. On the one hand, there is an increasing body of scholarship that has related the Aramaic apocalyptic, astronomical and physiognomic material to the direct knowledge of the scribes behind these texts with the Babylonian scholarly tradition.[1] On the other, scholars have been reticent to associate the Aramaic court tales with a Mesopotamian horizon—despite the diaspora setting of much of this material—precisely because this literature has been deemed to stand outside of the scholarly tradition, and hence the scribes who produced these texts unable to access Babylonian literature.[2] These sort of assumptions have also governed scholarly approaches to biblical texts, with the generic division found in the book of Daniel related to the differing social groups at which the material was apparently aimed: so the high-register Hebrew apocalyptic visions aimed at a scholarly audience; and the low-register Aramaic tales at a lower-class readership.[3] Underlying this supposition is the idea that

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1 On the connections between the Mesopotamian traditions and the Enochic material see Neugebauer 1981; Kuanvig 1988; Albani 1994; VanderKam 1984, 76–109; Drawnel 2011. On physiognomy see Popović 2007. On the connection between Babylonian and Jewish scientific texts more generally see Ben-Dov 2008; Sanders 2017.
2 A case in point is the recent study of all this material by Matthew Neujahr. Neujahr has attempted to distinguish between the modes of influence between the stream of Mesopotamian ideas to Jewish literature in the Second Temple period, determining between which alleged similarities can be accounted for in terms of general cultural knowledge, and which require the hypothesis of formal Babylonian scribal training. Though he is primarily concerned with apocalyptic literature, he also considers related Jewish texts and thus treats Daniel 4, a text that arguably recalls native traditions about the Babylonian king, Nabonidus. But Neujahr considers this tale to have the feeling of a "folk tradition," thus it did not "originate in a narrow scribal circle," but rather "grew outside a scribal context." Accordingly, he argues that the connections between Daniel 4 and the Mesopotamian literary tradition do "not bring us into the realm of Babylonian scribal training." See Neujahr 2016. See also Popović 2014, 178: "Those who composed the Prayer of Nabonidus (4Q242) or Daniel 4 may have gotten their knowledge about the Babylonian king Nabonidus through a chain of transmission that originated in the public reading of Nabonidus' inscription [...] there is no need to suppose direct access to Babylonian centres of higher learning."
3 Chapter 7, then, written in Aramaic but containing an apocalyptic vision, is seen to act as something of a "bridge" linking the two sections of text. See Collins 1984.

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apocalyptic is particularly "scribal," a rhetorical strategy which is the Second Temple period analogue to early forays into the biblical wisdom tradition, and which have been unpacked by scholars such as Stuart Weeks.[4] But all texts in the ancient world were the product of scribes. I can find no real reason for the division of these Aramaic texts into scholarly and non-scholarly settings, save for assumptions concerning modern reading practices and the status of fiction writing versus the non-fiction literature that tends to be the focus of academic outputs. Despite the characterization of the court tale as a non-elite form of writing, the reality of a large literate reading class for whom such "novels" were designed has yet to be seen. Our knowledge of the social realia behind reading and writing practices in the Persian and Hellenistic periods is decidedly slim. How are we to assess these assumptions concerning the existence of elite and non-elite literature and correlated reading and writing communities?

One answer can be found from the field of codicology, the study of the visual language of a codex through its physical, material and aesthetic aspects. Codicologists have shown that this visual language varies widely depending upon the contexts for which a text was produced. With the Qumran finds, we have a tangible manifestation of the tradition of the Jewish court tale. Comparing these fragmentary and poorly attested manuscripts with the better-attested Greek novel tradition preserved at Oxyrhynchus, an ancient Greco-Roman rubbish dump from which many ancient manuscripts have been recovered, provides a set of controls for how these texts from Qumran should be understood and hence through which the function of the manuscripts can be reconsidered. Scholars of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri and other ancient manuscript collections have shown how a scribe may use a particular type of script or style depending on the genre and intended social context of the text that he is copying. For example, material meant for self-consumption is demonstrably different to that intended for a public audience. Certain *de luxe* manuscripts were written with considerable care and attention, used and read only on special occasions. Material meant for an elite reader, willing to spend richly on these scribal products, could expect to receive much care and attention in its production. Scribal habits encompassing choices of script and style are thus important indicators of the genre and intended social context of a text. Beyond its origin, the various corrections, glossing and annotations within a text are vital clues to the uses of the documentary tradition. Though scholars have extensively studied the Aramaic texts from Qumran, the *para*-textual elements of these manuscripts have rarely been taken into consideration.

I will begin by considering the cogency of treating the Aramaic court tales from Qumran as a coherent genre dating to the early Second Temple period. Noting the similarity between scholarly treatments of the Greek and Jewish "novels," with both genres related to non-elite contexts, a study of the Greek data from the Oxyrhynchus Papyri and the Jewish texts from Qumran will show that this distinction between elite

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4 See Weeks 1994.

and non-elite materials does not hold true in either case. Ultimately, the implications of this for our understanding of the Aramaic court tales and the Mesopotamian connections that they seem to evince will be drawn out, suggesting that scholars take seriously the Mesopotamian background of the court narratives; while the reconstruction of non-elite genres of writing in antiquity will be shown to be an essentially anachronistic endeavor.

1 The Jewish Novel, the Court Tale, and the Idea of Non-Elite Literary Genres

The *Story and Proverbs of Ahiqar* is usually related to a genre of texts known as the "court tale," along with the story of Joseph (Genesis 39–41), Daniel 2–6,[5] and the book of Esther constituting the primary examples from the Hebrew Bible. From the inter-testimental literature, *Tobit* and *Judith* provide further depictions of a Gentile monarch. A number of similar material has also been found among the Dead Sea Scrolls,[6] while the Aramaic text in Demotic script, Papyrus Amherst 63, features a similar narrative.[7] These are "edifying tales not situated in or explicitly attached to biblical contexts and themes [...] [set in] the royal court of a great Gentile monarch."[8] All this material is suggestive that a rich tradition of court tales, particularly expressed in the Aramaic language, existed in the Second Temple period.

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5 I have not included Daniel 1 in this survey since I believe that the view, originally forwarded in Nickelsburg 1981, 20, 38, that Daniel 1 was written significantly later than the originally independent stories that make up chapters 2–6 as an introduction written by the collector of that material, still has much to be said for it. All the characters of the subsequent five tales are introduced in this chapter, with a description of how they came to be in Babylon and at the court of Nebuchadnezzar. This also accounts for why this chapter was written in Hebrew as opposed to the Aramaic of Daniel 2–6.
6 *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242); *Four Kingdoms* (4Q552, 4Q553, 4Q552a); *Pseudo-Daniel* (4Q243, 4Q244, 4Q245); *Jews at the Persian Court* (4Q550); *Daniel-Suzanna* (4Q551). Precisely because this latter text makes use of the genre of the court tale, earlier scholars related it along with some of the other previously unknown court tales from Qumran to the biblical corpus. For example, Milik reported the discovery of fragments of the story of Susanna at Qumran (Milik 1981, 337–350); while also referring to the existence of a cluster of six fragments of "proto-Esther" (Milik 1992, 321–406). On the other hand, Eugene Ulrich's careful analysis of the Daniel manuscripts found among the scrolls has finally put to bed the possibility of the existence of Danielic additions at Qumran (Ulrich 1987, 17–27). Similarly, Shemarayahu Talmon argues that the "Esther" fragments are related to the book of Esther only in so far as they too partake in the genre of the court tale (Talmon 1995, 249–267). Instead of trying to refer such compositions to biblical precedents, we must instead recognize the existence of an important substratum of Aramaic literature, the court tale, to which all these examples correspond.
7 On Papyrus Amherst 63 as a court tale, see Quick 2017, 175.
8 Dimant 2014b, 192.

The genre of the court tale is often subsumed under the larger substratum of the "Jewish novel," and accordingly read in analogue to the better known Greco-Roman examples of that specific literary form. The primary proponent of this strategy is Lawrence M. Wills, who across several publications has built up a picture of the ancient Jewish novel, to which he compares the genre known by Classicists as the Greek novel.[9] The Greek novel is represented by some five fully extant texts: Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe*; Xenophon's *An Ephesian Tale*; Achilles Tatius's *Leucippe and Clitephus*; Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe*; and Heliodorus's *An Ethiopian Story*.[10] More recently, a number of papyrus finds from Greco-Roman Egypt have illuminated the development of this genre,[11] by providing a fragment of *Ninus and Semiramis* from the first century CE.[12] The range in date for the production of this material takes us from *Ninus* in the first century, to *Sesonchiosus*, a fragment from the fourth century CE.[13] Wills characterizes these novels as telling the story

> of the overpowering love of two surpassingly beautiful young people who are separated and overtaken by any number of threats and torments, dragged all around the Mediterranean, and finally reunited to find perfect marital bliss.[14]

Even from this brief summary, it should be obvious that the Greek novels do not provide particularly robust associations with the material I have labelled as "court tales," and therefore it is worth considering the genre of the Jewish novel in detail.

According to Wills, the books of Daniel and Esther from the Hebrew Bible; and *Judith*, *Tobit*, *Joseph and Aseneth*,[15] along with the Greek additions to Daniel and Esther from the inter-testamental literature, form the corpus of the Jewish novel.[16] These

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9 See Wills 1995, 2002, 2011. Earlier studies in this regard include Humphreys 1985; Campbell 1974.

10 See Rheadon 1989.

11 See Stephens/Winckler (eds.) 1995. At least seven other ancient Greek novels beside the five fully extant texts have been recovered: *Ninus and Semiramis*, *Chione*, *Sesonchosis*, and Lollianos's *Phoinikika*; two to four fragments of Antonius Diogenes; and fragments of another twelve texts that look very much like novels. See ibid, 6.

12 Rheardon 1989, 1–5; Stephens/Winckler (eds.) 1995, 23–24.

13 Stephens/Winckler (eds.) 1995, 6.

14 Wills 1995, 16. On the other hand, it is worth recalling the caveat of Susan A. Stephens and John J. Winkler, who argue that the so-called "ideal romance" of the Greek novel is no more than a subclass of a larger genre reflecting the tastes of subsequent late antique and Byzantine readers more so than any contemporary readers. See Stephens/Winckler (eds.) 1995, 4–5.

15 Indeed, the modern title "Joseph and Aseneth" was generated by analogy to the titles of the ancient Greek novels; see Standhartinger 2017, 69 n. 1. Of the so-called "Jewish novels," it is *Joseph and Aseneth* that conforms to the genre of the Greek novel most closely. For a comparison of *Joseph and Aseneth* to the ancient Greek novel see Standhartinger 1995, 20–26.

16 An additional corpus of "historical" novels demonstrated by the *Tobiad Romance* and the *Royal Family from Adiabene* from Josephus' *Antiquities*, as well as *Third Maccabees*, may also be incorporated into this corpus. See the selection in Wills 2002.

he considers an "early version of the larger Greek novel."[17] These popular prose narratives, Wills argues, were all likely written or edited after the Maccabean Revolt in 167–164 BCE.[18] But is this temporal locus really appropriate for the biblical examples of the Jewish novel? Though surely edited in the furor of the persecution of Antiochus that led up to the Maccabean Revolt, the original independence of the stories of Daniel 2–6 is confirmed by the existence of diverse Danielic traditions from Qumran;[19] many scholars would affirm the Persian period as the original date for the origins of these traditions.[20] Esther too is not normally dated so late, but to the Persian period instead[21]—unless, of course, one wishes to contextually relate it to the genre of the Greek novel, which only arose in the first century of the common era. Arguably what is governing Wills' decision here is the possibility to relate these texts to a well-established genre from the classical world, and which, as we have seen, did not arise until after the turn of the century. Accordingly, Wills does not include the story of Joseph from Genesis 39–41, despite obvious parallels in content. For Wills, Genesis 39–41 can be divided between the J and E sources, according to the tenets of the Documentary Hypothesis.[22] Dating the text to the earliest period of the monarchy in Israel,[23] he therefore feels uncomfortable in comparing it to the genre of the Jewish novel, which as we have seen is contextualized in his account to the second century BCE and thereafter. On the other hand, Donald Redford has noted significant parallels between the language of the Joseph story with Persian period biblical texts.[24] Accordingly, and

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17 Wills 1995, 7.

18 Wills 1995, 10.

19 E. g. *Four Kingdoms* (4Q552; 4Q553; 4Q552a); *Pseudo-Daniel* (4Q243; 4Q244; 4Q245); and the *Aramaic Elect of God* text (4Q534; 4Q535; 4Q536). While 4Q246 does not actually mention the name "Daniel," 4Q246 I, 1–3 suggest that someone is interpreting the dream of a king in the manner familiar from the canonical book of Daniel, and hence the appellation *Apocryphon of Daniel* is usually given to this text.

20 So e. g., Koch 1980, 61–66; Collins 1993, 35–38. Carol Newsom would push the dating of these stories earlier still, on the basis that though no longer associated with that particular monarch, originally the stories in Daniel 2–4 likely had Nabonidus as their protagonist. Arguing that Nabonidus was only of particular interest to Jews during his reign (556–539 BCE) and in the generation following this, she therefore suggests a late Neo-Babylonian and early Persian period dating for these traditions. See Newsom 2013, 270–282.

21 Indeed, the Hebrew of Esther contains more Akkadian and Aramaic loanwords in proportion to its length than any other book in the Hebrew Bible (and no loanwords from Greek). See Mankowski 2000, 174; Dalley 2007, 165–184.

22 This is a reconstruction largely in accordance to that of von Rad 1966, 292–300, and his reconstruction of a "Solomonic enlightenment" and correlated period of great literary activity in the tenth century BCE—an account in contrast to the majority of modern scholarship on the beginnings of literary in ancient Israel and Judah, who prefer to situate the origins of a writing culture in the ancient Levant in the late ninth and eighth centuries BCE. For a review of scholarship in this regard, see Quick 2014.

23 See Wills 1995, 158–162.

24 Redford 1970. Indeed, the Joseph story can be omitted from the history of Israel's patriarchs without seriously impairing the narrative, suggesting the material to be of a later origin than the rest of the patriarchal saga. See Redford 1992, 424.

in recognition of the generic parallels between the Joseph story with the other court tales under discussion, I similarly would like to suggest a Persian period date for this text. If such a dating for the court tales is affirmed, then the connections to the later Greek novel must be regarded as anachronistic. To be fair, Wills does not argue that the Jewish novels themselves are either the direct forerunners or inheritors of the Greek novel, instead arguing for a parallel development.[25] Thus the development of the Aramaic court tales is unrelated to the development of the later Greek novel in a generic sense; nevertheless, there are interesting analogies which exist between the two genres that suggest a reading in light of the other may indeed be fruitful. Both are works of fiction that emerge in a literary landscape previously dominated by historiographic and liturgical literature. This is especially interesting because the ways in which the two genres have themselves been approached in the scholarship is comparable. For Wills, the novel is a non-elite form of writing, and its development related to an increase in the literate classes which apparently occurred in the Hellenistic period. This is a statement similar to scholarly forays into the Greek novel, a textual tradition which has also at times been relegated to a non-elite sphere, associated with women[26] and lower-classes,[27] while the upper-classes of the Hellenistic world continued to patronize the scholarly traditions of classical authors.[28] In the case of Wills, he develops his argument explicitly from the codicological evidence of the Qumran manuscripts, noting the small-page format on which some of the court tales were recorded as evidence of a less scholastic social setting for these narratives.[29] Indeed, for Józef Milik this is evidence that these texts functioned as a kind of ancient paperback novel ("Ils meritent bien l'appellation d' 'éditions de peche' de l'antiquité"[30]). Yet the use of the small-page format at Qumran was not limited to the court tales, and in fact multiple genres of texts exist in short-form exerted copies, in particular legal and liturgical texts. In order to test these assumptions, the material evidence from both the Greek novel and the Qumranic court tales must be considered in detail.

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25 Thus, he argues for a history of the Jewish novel that is "roughly parallel, but lies partially prior to the Greek novel" (Wills 2002, 213).

26 See already Rohde 1914, 64; followed by Perry 1967; Hägg 1983, 96; 1994; Holzberg 1995, 35.

27 Thus, it is common to relate the rise of the novel to a rapid spreading of literacy to the middle and even lower classes which apparently began in the Hellenistic period, see e. g. Perry 1964, 84, 174. This is in spite of the caution many scholars have felt in reconstructing a period of widespread literacy for this period (or indeed, in any period prior to the development of the printing press). For a study on ancient literacies, see Harris 1989; Harris cautions against relating the rise of the novel to an apparent increase in literacy at ibid, 227–228.

28 This is programmatically the case in the writing of Niklas Holzberg, whose association of the ancient Greek novel with women readers stems in part from the similarity which he senses "between the surviving novels of antiquity and *modern popular literature*" (Holzberg 1995, 33; my italics).

29 See Wills 1995, 27, n. 51.

30 Milik 1992, 363–365.

2 The Greek Novel: Evidence from Oxyrhynchus

Two strategies are usually utilized by scholars looking to determine the social background of the Greek novel. On the one hand, it is often noted that antiquity never created a special terminological categorization for the genre "novel." This is then developed to indicate that the novel was not considered to be "true literature" by contemporary literary theorists and critics—it stood apart from other, more scholarly genres.[31] Yet this is not unique among the history of ancient poetics. As Berber Wesseling has noted, Aristotle provides another example by omitting lyric poetry from his *Poetica*.[32] Neither did the prose hymns of Aristides, nor the satirical dialogue developed by Lucian, receive a special generic term. Instead, it is probably due to the origins of the novel in the Hellenistic period, long after the development of classical literary criticism of the fifth- and fourth-century canons and genres of epic, lyric, tragedy, history, and philosophical discourse, that saw it ignored by contemporary theorists. A second strategy sees some scholars relate the readership of the novel to the characters described in the texts themselves, the young, beautiful men and women whose love story precipitates the narrative.[33] It is this approach that has seen the novel associated with a particularly female audience, as noted above. But one might then suppose that all such ancient novel readers were blessed with otherworldly beauty, or were preternaturally chaste, too. On the other hand, based on the intertextual connections between the novels with precisely the scholarly canons of the classical age,[34] alongside the quality of the Atticising Greek in which many of the novels and novel fragments are couched,[35] other scholars have concluded that the primary readership of these tales was the intelligentsia, the social and intellectual elite who had always dominated literary culture.[36] How to move beyond these polar positions? Tomas Hägg was among the first to make the argument that the physical remains of the ancient novel could be crucial in this regard.[37] Hägg made two observations in particular, based on the fragmentary finds from Greco-Roman Egypt.[38] Though noting the fine script and costly material used in many of these productions, Hägg argued that the writing of many exemplars, running without spaces, made silent reading less easy and favored reading aloud instead—hence the novel could

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31 See e. g. Hägg 1983, 3–4; cf. Ruiz-Montero 1996, 82.
32 Wesseling 1988, 69.
33 Rohde 1914, 67; Perry 1967, 89–90, 98–99; Hägg 1983, 96.
34 Fusillo 1990; Bowie 1994, 438, 451–453. What is at issue here is both the ability of the readers to pick up the novelists' literary allusions, as well as the educational background of the novelists themselves.
35 E. g. Bowie 1996, 92.
36 The primary proponents of this view are Bowie 1985, 1994, 1996; Stephens 1994.
37 At Hägg 1983, 93; and repeated in Hägg 1994, 56.
38 It should be noted that these finds belong primarily to the Roman imperial period, and therefore tell us about the reading and reception of the first generation of novels, rather than the first generation of novel readers. See Hägg 1983, 94.

expect a wider dissemination among non-literate folk too.[39] Moreover, Hägg suggests that some of the ancient novels may have been illustrated, in aid of helping juvenile readers to comprehend the text.[40]

There are problems with both of these interpretations. Almost all writing in antiquity was written without spaces; while commentators have often noted the preference for reading aloud among ancient readers, even when alone.[41] The lack of word breaks and punctuation in ancient texts surely places greater demands on a reader's skills, suggesting a narrow scholarly readership—the social context for the dissemination of the material by such a reader to his less-educated contemporaries goes beyond what is reconstructable. The fragment utilized by Hägg to argue for the technique of illustration as a readerly aid has not been identified—it is not necessarily the case that it provides the text of an ancient novel after all. Moreover, Susan A. Stephens has countered with examples of illustrated scholarly texts, for example the illustrated fragment of Homer of the fourth century CE, a tradition which arguably also goes back to the Hellenistic period.[42] Instead, Stephens cogent analysis of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri suggests a different interpretation of the evidence. Around 75 % of the novel fragments whose provenance is known stem from Oxyrhynchus, while multiple other literary genres were found there. Stephens categorizes this latter material into three groups: (1) standard works of high culture, such as tragedy, history, and their commentaries; (2) writings that can be identified as Christian; and (3) works of the "not-quite-literate," encompassing carelessly copied texts full of spelling or other errors and most probably copied in a pedagogical context. The latter is of course noticeably idiosyncratic in style and format, and not of interest here. On the other hand, there is a conspicuous difference between (1) works of high culture, and (2) the early Christian materials, which seem in large part to be unskilled productions, adopting a documentary style and featuring larger lettering suggestive of either public reading or a less skilled private reader. The works of high culture, in the main, utilize "elegant and carefully executed calligraphy to competent but not necessarily attractive writing."[43] Crucial here is Stephens comparative analysis of this material to the novel fragments, finding that, while differing from the semi-documentary (or indeed, semi-literate style) of the Christian texts and school-boy exercises, the novels are indistinguishable from rolls or codices of classical authors of high culture, concluding that these are "competent, professionally copied books," and as such would have been costly technological productions that would have remained exclusively in an elite domain.[44]

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39 Hägg 1983, 92. The truism that *scriptio continua* favors reading aloud is unpacked by Jan Heilman (in this volume).

40 Hägg 1983, 94.

41 For a review of the evidence on this phenomenon, see Johnson 2000, 2010, 4–9.

42 Stephens 1994, 440; cf. Weitzman 1959, 32ff.

43 Stephens 1994, 412–413.

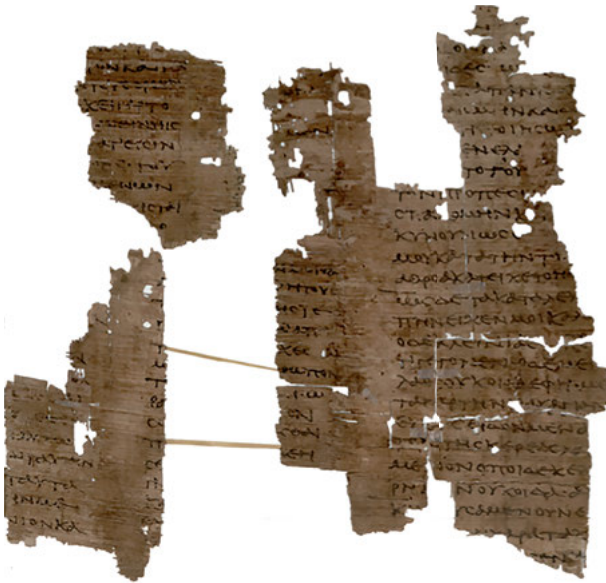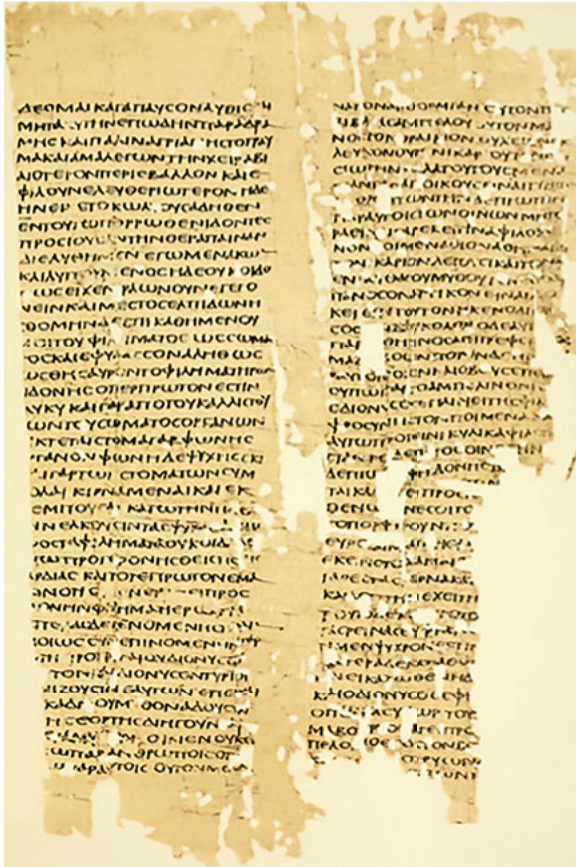**44** Stephens 1994, 406, 413–414. Cf. also Stephens/Winckler (eds.) 1995, 10.

Fig. 1a–b: P. Oxy. X 1250 (top) and P. Oxy. LVI 3836. Two fragments of Achilles Tatius. Late second century CE.

Fig. 2: P. Oxy. XXXVI 2751. A fragment of Plato, Republic III. Late second century CE.

We may develop some of these observations further. Fig. 1 provides images containing books 2 and 3 of Achilles Tatius respectively. William A. Johnson identifies the fragments as stemming from the same scribal hand.[45] What is particularly interesting here are observations concerning column width, and intercolumn and column height. In his treatment of column dimensions, Johnson notes that these tend to fall within strict ranges. The Tatius fragments belong to a larger group of literary texts which all fall within a column range measuring between 6.4–7.1 cm wide, 8.4–9.0 from column to column, and 17–19 cm high.[46]

Additional texts that share these dimensions include works which are otherwise associated with the scholastic tradition (see Fig. 2, a fragment of Plato's *Republic* dating to the same temporal period in the late second century CE as our Tatius novel fragments, and conforming to the same conventions in column dimension).

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45 Johnson 2004, 145.

46 See the tabulation in Johnson 2004, 126.

What to make of this striking consistency? Johnson argues that the scribal tool of measure in such instances must have been the same, inherited and shared across a given group of scribes: we have here evidence of a scribal group or school.[47] And this group was producing both scholarly works of philosophy, and the novels that scholars have otherwise argued were popular in character—and they were producing these texts by the same standards, too. With Stephens, we must conclude that the social milieu of the owners of the ancient novels were the very same intellectual elite who made up the readership of standard works of high culture.

3 Aramaic Court Tales from Qumran and Beyond

Turning to the Aramaic material from Qumran, as we have already noted, scholars such as Wills and Milik have utilized the small-page format of some of this material to locate these texts within a non-elite context, as the ancient equivalents to the modern paperback novel. What of the other codicological features of these texts? Starting with the *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242), certainly there are some interesting features to this manuscript.

The text is unruled (although clearly care had been taken to align the right margin, while the spacing is nevertheless fairly consistent). Should this be taken to indicate a less than professional preparation method for the text? Yet there are multiple unruled literary texts from Qumran, encompassing both Hebrew and Aramaic examples, and including biblical and pseudo-biblical texts, as well as this court tale.[48] On the other hand, the text has a wide, straight initial margin of some 2.5 cm. While this is relatively large, it is also a feature shared across multiple Judaean desert finds.[49] Indeed, given the cost and time of preparing parchment, the conspicuous consumption inherent to this feature might suggest that the manuscript in fact stems from an elite context. Larger margins are commonly a sign of a *de luxe* format.[50] Written texts were costly, and hence a sign of the high status of their ancient owners.

Turning to *Jews at the Foreign Court* (4Q550), this manuscript largely conforms to the technical conventions shared between many of the scrolls, with a top margin of 0.9–1.1 cm versus a slightly larger bottom margin of 1.1–1.4 cm—consistent with

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47 Johnson 2004, 127.

48 See 4QJer[c]; 4QCant[b]; 4QFlo (4Q174); 4QLevi[a] ar (4Q213); 4QLevi[b] ar (4Q213a); 4QJub[e] (4Q220); 4QM[c] (4Q493); 4QapocLam B (4Q501); 4QDibHam[a] (4Q504); 4QTQahat ar (4Q542); 5QDeut; 5QLam[a]; 5QLam[b]. See Tov 2004, 59.

49 1QM; 1QSa; 4QGen[b]; 4QPs[h]; 4QPs[l]; 4QAges of Creation B (4Q181); 4QCommGen A (4Q252); 4QpapS[a] (4Q255); 4QInstr[b] (4Q416); 4QVisions of Amram[c] ar (4Q545); 4QExorcism ar (4Q560); 5QKgs; 6QCant; MurIsa; XHev/SeEschat Hymn (XHev/Se 6); XJosh. See Tov 2004, 113.

50 Tov 2004, 99.

standard margin format, usually 1.0–2.0 cm for the top margin, and 1.5–2.0 cm for the bottom.[51]

What is surprising is the small writing block of the fragments, with seven lines per column, and a leather height of only 6.5 cm, placing it within the category of the scrolls with the smallest dimensions (between 5–13 lines).[52] Nevertheless, once again these dimensions are shared across multiple texts in multiple genres.[53] Indeed, while Milik has tried to understand the short-length of certain scrolls in light of their literary character, since his analysis is based on less than half of the scrolls of small size, Emanuel Tov has countered by emphasizing the variety of the evidence for the small format.[54] Multiple genres are found with small writing block. Indeed, the small, neat stance of the letters of 4Q550 suggests time and care was put into the production of this text.

Let us take *Pseudo-Daniel* (4Q243) as a final example from the court tales of Qumran. What makes this text particularly interesting is the use of paleo-Hebrew characters to render the divine name (here אלהכה; all letters except the *kaph* are written in paleo-Hebrew[55]). The representation of divine names (both the tetragrammaton and otherwise) in certain Qumran texts has been a feature noted ever since the original publication of the cave one material.[56] Some twenty-eight (possibly twenty-nine) manuscripts feature this phenomenon, and it is shared between both biblical and non-biblical texts.[57] 4Q243 is, however, the only example of this feature in an Aramaic text: all other examples come from texts written in Hebrew. The use of paleo-Hebrew for these letters implies that the characters—and the texts that contain them—require special treatment, and possibly even reflect a higher degree of sanctity. This is evident from examples of manuscripts with spaces presumably left for the divine name in paleo-Hebrew to be filled in later—not all scribes were entitled to write the divine

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51 The measurements are tabulated in Tov 2004, 99–103.

52 Tov 2004, 84. That scribes in this period were utilizing leather for these small form texts is particularly interesting in light of Menaham Haran's arguments concerning the shift from papyrus to skins at the beginning of the Second Temple Period: in part, this shift was connected to the considerable size of some of the canonical compositions, with the production of Deuteronomy at the end of the pre-exilic period an important turning point in this regard; see Haran 1982a, 1982b, 1983, 1984. By the time we get to the late Second Temple period, leather had become the normative medium for Jewish writ, and hence even the tiny 4Q550 is written on skin (although by no means did papyrus scrolls cease to be used entirely, and Qumran preserves a number of papyrus texts, both non-canonical and canonical).

53 See the lengthy table in Tov 2004, 84–86.

54 Tov 2004, 90.

55 Divine names in Qumran texts often do not utilize the letter *kaph* when writing in Palaeo-Hebrew script. Presumably, because the *kaph* was written less frequently, the scribe behind this particular example was not familiar with the Paleo-Hebrew letter for *kaph*, and hence used the square-script form in this instance. My thanks to Antony Perrot for this observation.

56 On this phenomenon see Siegel 1972, 29–45.

57 See Tov 2004, 242–243 for a tabulation of the evidence.

Fig. 3: Papyrus Amherst 63. Aramaic written in Demotic script. Fourth or third century BCE.

name in the paleo-Hebrew script.[58] That this phenomenon is found in one of our Aramaic court tales reflects both the care that went into the production of this particular text, as well as the status of the text itself, as a sacred object.

This brief review of some of the Qumran court tales has shown that in the main, the features of these manuscripts correspond with those of other documents from the Judaean desert. When we do find unusual features, such as the large margin of 4Q242, or the paleo-Hebrew characters in 4Q243, these tend to underscore the *de luxe* or sacred nature of the material. Despite the attestations of Milik and Wills concerning the relation between the format of the Aramaic court tales and their literary character as essentially light reading for a popular audience, the evidence does not bear these assumptions out. This is in common with the codicological evidence that may be gleaned from the novel fragments from Oxyrhynchus: both the Greek novel and the Jewish court tale are just as scribal in their characters as are their contemporary "scholarly" counterparts. Underlying so many of the assumptions made about this material is that the court tales, along with the Greek novels, would have functioned in ancient society in precisely the same ways as do modern novels today. But our final example cautions against this easy analogy. Fig. 3 presents a fragment from Papyrus Amherst 63, a text which defies conventional expectations of both literary genre and format. The papyrus largely comprises liturgical material, providing the liturgy of an Aramaic-speaking community from Upper Egypt, and most likely dating to the early third century BCE.[59] What has particularly interested biblical scholars is the nature of the liturgy, which provides parallels to biblical material, in particular to Ps. 20:2–6.[60]

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58 Tov 2004, 240.

59 See Steiner 1995 for a review of the various scholarly positions concerning the dating of the text.

60 Steiner/Nims 1983; Weinfeld 1985.

Less often noted is the narrative portion of the text, taking up roughly one quarter of the papyrus, and detailing a tale of courtly conflict: we have here another example of an Aramaic court tale.

What complicates our understanding of the function of the court tale in its ancient context is the compounding of one such example within a text that is otherwise largely liturgical in character. The same might also be said for the book of Daniel, in which court tales are countered by apocalyptic visions (precisely the sort of texts best felt to evidence a Mesopotamian horizon!), or of the canonical context of the biblical court tales within the Hebrew Bible in general. Clearly, this material was felt to have a function beyond mere enjoyment or light relief. This recalls scholarship on the Joseph narrative which has read the text in light of the wisdom tradition,[61] suggesting that the text had an edifying function. Indeed, Papyrus Amherst 63 is a particularly pertinent example to draw to a close our codicological observations on the Aramaic court tale. Far from being short in stature, this particular papyrus runs some twelve feet long! Moreover, the use of Demotic script to render the Aramaic language is unusual, and the text is especially difficult to decipher. Clearly this particular court tale was no ancient paperback.

If we return to the questions that precipitated this analysis, the distinction between scholarly and non-scholarly Aramaic texts and the scribes that produced them can no longer be maintained. Though these observations have been built upon codicological considerations, this also recalls Devorah Dimant, who has argued that all the Aramaic texts from Qumran should be considered a distinct group within the Qumran library, with shared patterns of language, style and content.[62] Interactions with the Aramaic traditions of scholarly apocalyptic and the apparently non-scholarly court tales have treated this material as if two bodies of scribal currency were in existence in ancient Judaism. But though they do not transmit scientific knowledge, the court tales are just as much a scholarly, scribal production as the visionary-apocalyptic texts. All this suggests that we reevaluate the origins of these traditions of Eastern kings, by a reconsideration of the Eastern backgrounds which may have informed them, and which takes seriously their connections to the larger literary traditions of the ancient Near East. Ultimately, and given that our evidence bore out the elite context of both the Greek novels and the Jewish court tales, scholars should feel cautious to attribute a popular or widespread audience for written media in the ancient world.

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61 The classic proponent of this thesis was von Rad 1966; see also Talmon 1963 on the book of Esther.
62 Dimant 2014b, 186. On the "family resemblance" shared between the Aramaic texts from Qumran, see also Perrin 2015a, 2015b; Machiela/Perrin 2014. See also Dimant 2017b, who utilizes the term "cluster" to describe the literary relationship between the Aramaic corpus of texts from the Second Temple period.

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Fig. 1a–b, 2: Egyptian Exploration Society and the University of Oxford Imaging Papyri Project.
Fig. 3: The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

Mika S. Pajunen

Reading Psalm and Prayer Manuscripts From Qumran

The Qumran Caves provided a treasure trove of manuscripts containing psalms and prayers. Of the over 900 manuscripts from the caves, almost a sixth have been classified by their official editors as manuscripts that contain, at least in their present state of preservation, only psalms or prayers. In addition, there are a number of psalms and prayers as part of narrative works (e. g., 1QS, 1QM, and *Jubilees*). Much has already been written on many of these works, like the so-called psalms manuscripts and the *Hodayot*, and estimations have been made about the extent of the collections of psalms and prayers in individual manuscripts and their possible use. Sometimes these assessments have been based mostly on the contents of the collection, at other times on the material formats, and in a few instances these have been combined.[1] Mostly the arguments have claimed either a private use or a public, ritual, use. Furthermore, such assessments have typically been made by determining the size of the manuscript and the plausible extent of its contents, and consequently in what settings such a scroll could most probably have been used.

Thus far there have been no attempts to provide a complete overview of the psalm and prayer material from Qumran focusing on matters that are more directly related to the actual reading of a manuscript than its overall dimensions, i. e., script size and spacing of lines, letters, and words.[2] I will provide such an overview of the material in this article, drawing attention to features shared by these manuscripts and the works in them. I will furthermore provide an estimate of the standard spacing used in these manuscripts, which allows for manuscripts markedly deviating from these standards to be more easily recognized for closer inspection in the future.[3] Naturally such an analysis is based on probabilities and averages and cannot be used to give absolute answers concerning the use of specific manuscripts. It is thus suggestive rather than conclusive. But the size of the collection of manuscripts from Qumran containing

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1 See, for instance, Nitzan 1994; Falk 1998; Falk 2000; Flint 1997; Schuller 1999a; Schuller 1999b; Pajunen 2014; Pajunen 2015.
2 An exception to this is provided by Falk 2014 who has surveyed all the prayer manuscripts from Qumran and part of the psalm manuscripts with an emphasis on their material features, including script size and line division. He excludes from his study the manuscripts containing now biblical psalms and the most fragmentary of the psalm and prayer manuscripts. Falk does make some observations on readability on a couple of occasions, but his main concern is the general size and quality of the different scrolls that relate, for instance, to their portability and considerations of economy.
3 The measurements given in this article are based on information given by the editors of the individual manuscripts in the official DJD editions that I have double-checked, and when this information is lacking, on my own calculations.

psalms and prayers is significant and can therefore be used to establish certain norms to distinguish manuscripts that fall outside them. Each of these manuscripts then needs to be considered carefully on its own in further studies before drawing firmer conclusions on its intended use.

There are over 140 manuscripts among the Qumran finds that the official editors have classified as psalm or prayer manuscripts. These manuscripts provide the material for this investigation as ritual use has often been considered the primary one for works containing psalms and prayers.[4] This does not mean that psalms and prayers in narrative contexts could not have been used for such ends, but when they are part of a narrative their formatting follows that of the overall work in terms of readability, which means their possible use in liturgies would have to be based solely on internal evidence.[5] Some manuscripts out of these c. 140 are very small individual pieces and their identification as psalms or prayers is quite uncertain. The twenty most uncertain cases (1Q37, 4Q411, 4Q249m, 4Q249n, 4Q249o, 4Q439, 4Q446, 4Q447, 4Q450, 4Q452, 4Q453, 4Q454, 4Q468k, 4Q476, 4Q476a, 4Q498, 4Q499, 4Q500, 4Q527, and 4Q579b) have, therefore, been excluded from this study.[6] In addition to these excluded manuscripts, there are a few other manuscripts, possibly containing a psalm or a collection of psalms now in the MT Psalter, where the identification is based on only a few partially preserved words. These are currently included in the corpus of this study but are not taken up as significant evidence for possible deviations from standard practices because so little is preserved. The corpus of manuscripts that has been used in this investigation thus consists of 119 manuscripts.[7] In the following I will first present some of the typical features of these manuscripts and then showcase some especially intriguing cases that deviate from the common norms of this corpus in significant ways.

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4 This matter is not as straightforward as has often been suggested and in recent studies I have shown that psalms and prayers were also used for educational and prophetic purposes. See, e. g., Pajunen 2013; Pajunen 2017; Pajunen 2019. Nevertheless, psalms and prayers continued to be used in liturgies, and many of the psalm and prayer collections from Qumran, like the *Berakhot*, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and *Daily Prayers*, seem to be meant primarily for such a use. The compositions investigated more closely in this article for possible public ritual use or private piety all have contents that suggest a liturgical function as the primary one.

5 An exception to this is 4QDeut[q] (4Q44), which seems to have originally contained only the Song of Moses known from Deuteronomy 32. Because this manuscript only contains this song and none of the surrounding narrative, the manuscript has been included in this survey.

6 In addition, while the *tefilim* and *mezuzot* from Qumran can be argued to have had a ritual use, they are most of all ritual objects and the script on them is of miniature size, which rules out their regular reading altogether. They have, therefore, been excluded from this study. On the *tefilim* and *mezuzot* see Cohn (in this volume).

7 The cataloging of papyrus manuscripts in the official editions is somewhat misleading. Separate works on the same opisthographic manuscripts have been assigned separate manuscript numbers (like 4Q503 and 4Q512). While the individual works on the opisthographs are referred to in this study by these numbers, the numbering of the manuscripts counts each opisthograph as a single manuscript, regardless of how many works were included in it.

Typical Characteristics of Psalm and Prayer Manuscripts From Qumran

In the following, attention will be paid especially to those aspects that directly pertain to the readability of these psalm and prayer manuscripts in a public or private ritual setting. Most of these factors pertain to the material format of the manuscripts but a few are also related to the content of the works. Material indicators are the primary factors here, content providing only an auxiliary function. First of all, the language of psalms and prayers was clearly Hebrew.[8] All of these psalm and prayer manuscripts are in Hebrew and prayers in Aramaic are only found in narrative works also otherwise in Aramaic, such as the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the *Aramaic Levi Document*. Second, the preferred writing material was animal skin, with only seven of the 119 manuscripts being papyrus manuscripts and the rest on parchment.[9] Third, nearly all of the collections, containing enough material to establish this, use *vacat*s for demarcating the collected compositions. Some of the manuscripts provide even more minute sense divisions into strophes, but already an empty space just between separate compositions would have helped potential readers in locating specific compositions. In some manuscripts the easy location of prayer and psalm beginnings is further facilitated by special signs in the margin that allow for a quick browsing to the appropriate section (cf. 4Q414, 4Q503, 4Q504, and 4Q506/4Q509). This feature will be returned to later in this article. In only a few cases is there enough existing content to suggest that *vacat*s were not used in a particular manuscript even between consecutive compositions. The lack of clear sense divisions would have hindered the easy use of these manuscripts in both public reading and in private use relying on easy identification of appropriate prayers or psalms. This feature can hence be used together with other criteria to argue that a specific manuscript was not formatted for use in a public gathering. At this point it is pertinent to point out that this is the furthest it is possible to go, i.e., it is possible to argue that some manuscripts were not formatted for public use whereas some may have been primarily intended for such practices, but whether or not the format completely excluded their use in other fashions cannot

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8 Obviously the choice of language is not a material feature, but it is necessary to recognize the predominance of Hebrew regarding psalms and prayers as well as in some other genres, such as legal texts. Possible reasons for the preference of Hebrew in these genres can then be discussed in further studies.

9 Tov 2004, 45 indicates that 14 % of the manuscripts from Qumran were written on papyri. The papyrus manuscripts in this survey make up only 6 % of the entire corpus of psalm and prayer manuscripts, which demonstrates that papyrus was even more seldom used for such compositions than for other kinds of works. Falk 2014, 42–43 arrives at slightly different percentages because he criticizes Tov's overall numbering of papyrus manuscripts from a number of different standpoints. In his estimation the percent of papyrus prayer manuscripts from Qumran is close to the overall percentage of papyrus manuscripts among the finds that he calculates as c. 10 %.

be demonstrated. A fourth feature common to nearly all of these manuscripts is that they are written in a formal or semi-formal hand, which would have helped with their reading, both aloud and in private. Only a couple of manuscripts are written in cursive script, which has sometimes been argued to indicate private use. These features are the four most common elements in the psalm and prayer manuscripts. A typical psalm or prayer manuscript from Qumran would thus have been written in Hebrew in a formal or semi-formal hand on a parchment manuscript and the scribe would have employed *vacat*s to show at least the divisions between different compositions.

The actual format and scale of these manuscripts varies a great deal, as do the contents. In these matters the typical norm can be established by placing the manuscripts on a spectrum where the middle provides the most typical configuration, and by further highlighting certain practices used only with particular contents. Manuscript size varies a great deal and, in most cases, the original size of a collection can no longer be estimated. Really small manuscripts that originally contained only a few lines were probably short as well. These have often been claimed to contain material for private use or even, combined with other criteria, to have been amulets.[10] In turn, scrolls that have a large writing block seem to have been usually meant for containing larger collections that often also seem to be written in a crowded fashion to exclude easy use in public gatherings. Public use is, thus, unlikely regarding manuscripts in both of these extremes. But most of the material falls in between these extremes and in these cases the height of the manuscript and its column width cannot be used to argue for or against a possible usage.

A related matter is manuscripts completely or partly written in a stichometric arrangement. These formats are only used for some of the now biblical psalms, and possibly for some psalms in 4QNon-Canonical Psalms A (4Q380),[11] and in my view the arrangement relates to the clear classic Hebrew parallelism used in many of the early psalms but typically not employed in psalms from the late Second Temple period. Consequently, because of the lack of classic parallelism, many of the now biblical psalms and nearly all of the apocryphal psalms appear to be unsuited for a stichometric format and are written in a prose format instead. Whether a stichometric arrangement is connected with the intended usage of a particular manuscript cannot be established. In some cases this might be possible, but in my view the use of this particular arrangement in the case of certain psalms relates most of all to preserving their traditional format that is related to their use of classic parallelism. That some of the manuscripts contained both stichometrically arranged and prose format psalms (e. g., 1Q10) supports this conclusion as does the use of stichometric arrangement in some psalms that are

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10 This has been suggested, for instance, by Kipp Davis in an unpublished paper presented in Helsinki in 2015.

11 For an assessment of the codicological features of stichometrically arranged manuscripts and for a critique of the notion that this arrangement would reflect the authority of a composition, see Davis 2017.

part of narrative compositions. The extensive use of stichometric formatting in a manuscript does mean that it is highly improbable that such a manuscript could have contained something like a 150-psalm psalter because of the needed space, but such an arrangement alone does not help with indicating or excluding a public use. However, it should be noted that where a stichometric arrangement of a psalm was employed, it would have helped with the recitation of the psalm in question because the individual cola of the psalm are clearly defined. But of course this added readability would have been true for both public and private use of such manuscripts.

Perhaps the most important factor in the layout of a manuscript for arguing for or against its easy readability is the size of the script and the divisions between lines, letters, and words. There is naturally some variance in these measurements inside individual manuscripts but a consistent use of large characters with extensive spacing probably denotes a limited collection of works that was easy to read in public. Conversely, a scroll written consistently with uncharacteristically small letters with crowded letter, word, and line spacing would have been very difficult to use in a public reading setting. Most of the manuscripts naturally fall in between these extremes and they could easily have been used in both public and private spheres. Many manuscripts also contain one abnormality in these matters but otherwise fit into the regular format. A case could be made for some of these, in combination with other criteria, but they are not dealt with more thoroughly in this article because it would necessarily mean conducting a detailed analysis of each individual manuscript.

The standard script size in these manuscripts is between 2.5 and 3 mm. A script consistently 2 mm or smaller can hence be called small and a script of 3.5 mm or more can be called large. Line division varies quite a bit more than script size even in a single manuscript but the average line division for most of these manuscripts falls between 6 and 8 mm. Manuscripts with consistently smaller or larger divisions are thus noteworthy. Typically, the scribes followed the general size of the gaps between the dry lines by writing in a script that would fill slightly less than half of the available space, leaving room for letters extending below and above the lines. This further illustrates that the spacing desired for a manuscript was normally already decided when the dry lines for writing were drawn. But there do exist some exceptional cases where the scribes have decided to deviate from these standards indicated by the layout of the prepared manuscript at the time of writing. Nevertheless, this does show that line divisions and hence the appropriate script size were already decided when the manuscript was prepared for writing and was part of the conscious formatting choices that reflect the extent of the works to be written in the manuscript and its intended primary use. However, the scribe was instrumental not only in employing a script size consistent with the intended spacing of lines but for using letter and word spacing in line with the intended usage of a manuscript. Even if the script and line divisions are larger than normal but the words themselves are written practically without spacing, the manuscript would have been difficult to read, whereas a manuscript with small letters and line spacing but regular letter and word spacing would have been

a relatively easy read at least in a private setting. While attention will be paid in the following to manuscripts that show distinct practices in many of the aforementioned areas, a case for the ritual use of some manuscripts falling just within the upper limit of the mentioned measurements could be made together with other criteria. Similarly, it would be difficult to argue simply on material grounds for an intended public use of manuscripts falling into the lower end of the established normal range.

For instance, 4QBerakhot[a] (4Q286) has the largest format among the *Berakhot* manuscripts. It has a line spacing at the upper reach of the normal range, close to 8 mm, spacing of letters varying from normal to large, and a regular sized 3 mm script written in a formal hand. The contents of the manuscript are clearly a communal liturgy with "amen, amen"-refrains, and *vacat*s used for divisions between different sections. Thus, this manuscript could well have been used in a public reading, but it falls just within the range of normal in all respects. A similar case is 1QH[b] (1Q35) with a line spacing of 8 mm, letter size of 3 mm, and using paleo-Hebrew letters for אל. Another communal liturgical text, 6Q18, also uses paleo-Hebrew for אל. The script is clear, neat, and rather large (between 3.5 and 4 mm), and the line division varies from 6 to 10 mm. This means that the manuscript could have been used in public gatherings, but the average formatting is on the upper reaches of the normal range or just barely above it. Finally, 11QapocrPs (11Q11), which I have previously argued is a possible public liturgical scroll, also falls into this range.[12] It has a line spacing from 6 to 8 mm, the average being c. 7 mm, a regular sized 3 mm script, but markedly large letter and word spaces throughout. The individual psalms are divided by *vacat*s, and the scroll has an "amen, amen"-ending, introduced as a response to the ritual by a community. In addition, the version of Psalm 91 at the end of the scroll has been modified in terms of personal forms to conform to the other psalms on the scroll so that one person can recite the whole scroll by addressing the person(s) afflicted by evil spirits and the evil spirits in turn. The general size of the scroll would also have made it easy to use in a public gathering without requiring a pedestal or someone else to hold it for the reader. I still maintain that this manuscript was probably intended to be used in a public exorcism ritual, but the material features of it are within normal range except for the spacing of letters and words. This case of 11QapocrPs serves well as an example where a more thorough study of a manuscript falling mostly within the normal range of spacing formats can result, with further argumentation, in a plausible claim that the manuscript could well have been used in a public ritual setting.

Finally, an example of a manuscript from the lower range of typical formatting is 5Q14. The script is rather small, varying from 2 to 2.5 mm with thick lettering, and the line spacing is c. 6 mm. The word and letter spacing are normal in relation to the size of the script but the manuscript only had five lines and it is uncertain whether it had more than one column. The contents seem to be curses against human adversaries or more

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12 Pajunen 2015, 128–161.

probably evil spirits. It seems that this manuscript was most likely formatted for private use but again it falls just within the standard range in terms of readability factors.[13]

As can already be seen from the above examples, content can at times provide some additional clarification about the intended usage of a manuscript. In general, the works in this study are psalms and prayers that as a genre are open to both public and private use in ritual and educational settings. Works containing "amen, amen"-refrains seem more plausibly to have had a ritual use than works without them. Compositions that contain a first or third person plural address describing the community participating in a ritual are perhaps slightly more likely to have been used in a communal gathering than works without such indicators. Most of the works in these manuscripts do not, in their current state of preservation, give an indication of when or where they would have been used, or only contain a short superscript about their use at a particular time. Such works could have been read from the scrolls on the appropriate occasions in ritual gatherings or as part of private piety. But there are also some manuscripts that contain both descriptions of when a certain psalm or prayer was to be uttered and acts accompanying the recitation. The clearest examples of such liturgies are purification rituals that present both the necessary acts of purification for different types of uncleanliness and the blessings to be recited afterwards by the purified person. Such manuscripts could have been used for checking the necessary acts by priests or literate persons purifying themselves, or for instructing others, but they are not ritual texts per se but rather descriptions of such rituals.

Finally, the use of the divine name deserves a brief mention. With two exceptions the tetragrammaton is only used in manuscripts containing now biblical material, either psalms or lamentations. The two exceptions are the apocryphal psalms of 11Q11 and a Deuteronomic communal prayer of confession in 4Q393. In all the other works in this survey other epithets of God are used and the tetragrammaton is avoided. This may most of all be an indication of the general date of these works, as the use of the divine name gradually diminishes from the second century BCE onwards. But if a ritual use of a text is considered at such a time period when pronouncing the divine name was atypical, an additional factor for not using the actual name in collections of psalms and prayers may have been the avoidance of the name in the text itself so as not to necessitate its replacement during recital. A similar caution may have been

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13 This is one of the manuscripts highlighted by Pfann/Kister 1997, 7 as meant for private use because of its general size: "Most portable scrolls were owned by individuals and were intended to be carried about and read during certain feasts. Typically these scrolls contained 7–10 (and not more than 15) lines. Many of those included in this category comprised the biblical *Megillot* (Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Esther) including 2QRuth[a] (8 lines), 4QCant[a] (9 lines), 4QCant[b] (15 lines), 4QQoh[a], 4QLam (10 lines), 5QLam[a] (7 lines), and 6QCant (7 lines). A few liturgical texts are also portable scrolls: 4Q501 (4QapocrLam B, 9 lines), 4QShir[a] (9 lines), 5QCurses (5 lines). To these should be added several texts in Aramaic: 4Q246 (4QApocrDan, 9 lines), 4Q318 (4QZodiology and Brontology, 9 lines), 4Q542 (4QTQahat, 13 lines), 4Q550 (4QPrEsther[a–f] ar, 7 lines). Perhaps to be added to these are 4Q180 (4QAges of Creat[a], 10 lines) and 4Q181 (4QAges of Creat[b], 12 lines)."
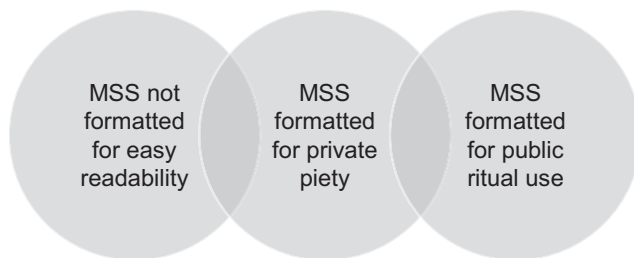
Fig. 1: Possible overlaps in the use of MSS with different formatting.

behind the use of paleo-Hebrew characters for the tetragrammaton in some manuscripts, and even for אל as seen above. The special layout of the divine name would have made it easy to distinguish the tetragrammaton from the rest of the text and to replace it in recital. Unfortunately, such observations remain on the level of the hypothetical because there is no conclusive evidence about how the divine name was handled in recitals during the late Second Temple period, only that it was avoided when writing new compositions.

In the following, some manuscripts will be highlighted that—by their material formats—were most likely intentionally formatted for public or private ritual use, or were probably not intended for such uses at the time the manuscript was written. Manuscripts possibly meant for public and private ritual use have the general easy readability of the manuscript in common, guaranteed by a particularly large spacing, and it is at times difficult to decide what would be the most plausible intended setting of a manuscript. Indeed, it may not always be pertinent to decide between such public and private ritual uses as the same manuscript could have been used in both kinds of settings. The manuscripts that are not formatted for such uses are most of all manuscripts that would have been extremely hard to read and often acted as repositories for larger quantities of material. But their use at least in private piety cannot be discarded just because they are not formatted optimally for easy readability. The overlap of these three spheres can be illustrated by the above image. Manuscripts in neighboring spheres might have been used on occasion in both but manuscripts at the far ends from each other would be difficult to argue as having been used in the setting at the opposite end.

Manuscripts Formatted for Public Ritual Use

In the following, some of the most plausible cases for psalm and prayer manuscripts intentionally formatted for public reading will be presented briefly. Some of these manuscripts are quite limited in terms of remaining material, which hinders the evaluation of their overall formatting. One such limitedly preserved manuscript is 1Q39, which is made up of ten small fragments. But the letters are on average 3.5 mm, the

typical line division is around 9 mm and the spacing of letters and words is rather large. This scroll would probably have been easy to read in public and the formatting indicates that this may have been its intended use. Two of the so-called psalms manuscripts are also quite limited in terms of remaining material and display some further peculiarities. 4Q91 has a script of 2 to 2.5 mm and a regular spacing between letters and words but an unusually large spacing of lines, from 9 to 10 mm. Because the script is small in relation to the available space on the lines the formatting does not seem optimal for any particular use and there is a substantial amount of space that could have been better employed by the scribe, either by using a scroll with shorter line divisions or by employing a larger script. A contrasting format is found in 4Q93, which seems to have possibly contained only Psalm 104 in a stichometric arrangement. Even though the line divisions vary between 8 and 9 mm the script is larger than on 4Q91, from 3 to 3.5 mm, and little or no space is left between words. This scroll would have been very difficult to use in public even though the hand and line divisions are slightly larger than the regular range. 4Q91 in turn could have been used in a public setting but the relatively small hand in relation to the line divisions is peculiar, even though it grants the appearance of a spacious layout. Yet another poorly preserved scroll with large formatting is 4Q292. It has letters of 3.5 mm, an average line division of 9 mm, and regular to large letter and word spaces in relation to the script. The remaining contents are from a communal prayer with an "amen, amen"-refrain preserved. This manuscript could thus potentially have been used in a communal liturgical setting (4Q471c may be a similar case but too little remains of it to establish this).

Fortunately, some of the plausibly public liturgical scrolls have been slightly better preserved. 4QFestival Prayers[b] (4Q508) consists of 41 fragments, albeit most of them are rather small. The script is of regular size, from 2.5 to 3 mm, but letter and word spacing as well as space between lines (8–10 mm) are consistently large. The prayers are clearly communal, separated with *vacat*s, and the manuscript contained "amen, amen"-refrains. A similar case is 4QSongs of the Sage[a] (4Q510) that also has a regular-sized 3 mm script, but large word and line spacing (c. 8–10 mm). The public use of both of these scrolls would have been quite easy and plausible in terms of format and content. 4QSongs of the Sage[b] (4Q511) presents an even more plausible case for use in a communal liturgical setting. It has larger script than 4Q510, the average being between 3.5 and 4 mm, rather broad line spacing averaging around 8 mm, and regular letter and word division. The individual songs are separated by *vacat*s and the scroll has an "amen, amen"-ending. A final case to be mentioned among plausible liturgical texts written on parchment is the large psalm scroll from Cave 11, 11QPs[a]. The long length of the scroll would have hindered its use somewhat, but the scroll is in a large format and of rather normal height. The height of the letters is consistently between 3 and 3.5 mm, the letter and word divisions are large, and the line divisions vary between 8.5 and 10 mm, i. e., consistently above the normal range. The tetragrammaton is written in paleo-Hebrew, *vacat*s are used consistently between compositions, and many scholars have claimed that 11QPs[a] contains a more liturgical arrangement

of material than the MT Psalter.[14] The format is markedly different from the few Cave 4 psalms manuscripts that may originally have contained around the same amount of material (or more), like 4Q83. 11QPs[a] is certainly a beautiful scroll that could easily have been used in a public setting, picking up appropriate psalms or psalm clusters.

The final manuscript to be mentioned as a scroll plausibly formatted for a public liturgical use is a papyrus manuscript, 4QpapHodayot[f] (4Q432). It has a large script of 4 mm and by a fair margin the broadest line division among the psalm and prayer manuscripts, ranging from 11 to 15 mm. The space between letters is normal but the space between words is consistently large. In terms of material indicators this would be the best candidate for a scroll intentionally formatted for easy public reading, and, according to a material reconstruction of the manuscript, it contained a more limited collection than 1QH[a],[15] which further supports such a conclusion.

Manuscripts Formatted for Private Piety

As with the large reading format public ritual scrolls above, some of these manuscripts are also very poorly preserved. 2QPs (2Q14) is an intriguing case. It contains parts of Psalms 103 and 104, which may have been the only works on the scroll. A special feature in it is the use of red ink for a passage from Psalm 103 (vv. 1–4). This has been seen by Peter Flint as a potential sign of ritual use.[16] This was a small scroll with column widths from 6 to 8 cm. The script is neat with regular spacing, but the hand is only 1–2 mm in size and the division of lines varies between 4 and 5 mm. These dimensions suggest that the manuscript was not intended for public ritual use, but may rather have been intended for private piety with the red ink marking the beginnings of the psalms for the reader. Another psalms manuscript, 4Q98g, is probably a personal note only containing an abbreviated and reinterpreted form of Nathan's prophecy from Ps 89:20ff.[17] It has a large script and line divisions from 7 to 8 mm, but it has a number of scribal errors in a small amount of space and the ends of the lines are crowded together. This suggests that the intended text was crammed into a

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14 For instance, Skehan 1973; Wacholder 1988.

15 Schuller 1999b, 212.

16 Flint 1997, 32. According to Tov 2004, 54 red ink is found only on three manuscripts from Qumran (4QNum[b], 4Q270, and 4Q481d), in addition to 2QPs, and appears to be a way of indicating the beginning of a sense division, such as a new psalm as in 2QPs, which is a practice also found in some Egyptian papyri. This rare use of red ink in the Qumran scrolls seems to indicate that it was probably not used by the Qumran community who appear to have used *vacat*s and special signs in the margin to indicate sense divisions rather than red ink. Thus, these few scrolls with red ink were probably brought to Qumran from elsewhere. This could be an additional indication that 2QPs was a personal copy brought to Qumran by an individual rather than a scroll originally formatted for public ritual use.

17 See further Pajunen 2014.

minimal space and reading it in public would have been difficult. A similar case is 4Q291, which has a very large 5 mm script, regular division between letters, and a typical line division of 10 to 11 mm. These would point strongly towards public ritual use, but the text is written in a semi-cursive script, which is rare, and with short intervals between words. While public ritual use of this manuscript is certainly possible these features may rather suggest a private use.

Another exemplar of the *Berakhot*, 4Q287, has many of the same elements in terms of content as 4Q286 discussed above. It is a communal ritual text with "amen, amen"-refrains, and *vacat*s used consistently for the division of material. But the format of 4Q287 is smaller than that of 4Q286 with thirteen lines per column, a small script from 2 to 2.5 mm, and an average space between lines around 5.5 mm. Taken together with a short spacing used for the division of words this manuscript seems more readily appropriate for private use rather than public ceremonies.[18] 4QHodayot[a] (4Q427) has regularly been seen as a liturgical collection because of its contents.[19] The line division of c. 10 mm and the use of *vacat*s support such a possibility. But while a public use cannot be refuted, the small script of 2 to 2.5 mm, at times short spacing between words, and semi-cursive script might rather suggest a collection meant primarily for private piety.

Manuscript 4Q504 of the *Words of the Luminaries* is a parchment opisthograph containing prayers for each day of the week. It contains "amen, amen"-refrains, regular *vacat*s, and instructions concerning the proper day for each prayer in addition to the actual text of the prayers. The letter and word spaces are quite normal, but the script is small and semi-cursive, and the line spacing short. This suggests a copy for private rather than public use. The manuscript also contains marks in the margin for easily finding the different prayers. This would have been a handy feature in a scroll where separate prayers would have been used on different days as the contents seem to indicate. The marks would have allowed for easy skimming of the contents to the appropriate prayer.

Three works on papyrus manuscripts also contain signs in the margins marking the beginnings of prayers. 4Q503 contains prayers for each day of a month, 4Q509 festival prayers, and 4Q512 purification rites. All of these prayers have a description of the appropriate time to pronounce a specific prayer and its wording (cf. the liturgical headings in some LXX psalms). The purification ritual also includes instructions on the appropriate means of purifying oneself before pronouncing the proper blessing. All of them have normal sized script and spacing of words and letters but their line divisions are short, which makes them appear crowded. Moreover, they are all part of opisthographs. 4Q503 and 4Q512 are actually part of the same manuscript, and 4Q509

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18 Falk 2014, 70–71 estimates 4Q287 to be a portable copy.
19 For example, Schuller 1999a, 87 remarks that 4QHod[a] is more liturgically oriented than the other *Hodayot* collections.

is on the same manuscript with other prayer texts, 4Q505 and 4Q506, and some *War Scroll* related material (4Q496). The fact that these two opisthographs contain almost entirely prayer material has given rise to suggestions about private copies for use while traveling.[20] The material format agrees with this assessment in the sense that these manuscripts do not appear to be formatted for public ritual use. Yet the markings in the margins indicate a need to find specific prayers or purification instructions in a timely manner, and the contents are all prayers an individual could offer at specific times of day, on particular days, on feast days, and in relation to purification.[21] Thus, these manuscripts seem most easily connected with private use.

Manuscripts Not Formatted for Ritual Use

The manuscripts that were probably not meant to be read aloud as part of public rituals are mostly distinguishable by a small script and with shorter spaces between words and lines than is typical (e. g., 4Q98a has a tall and narrow column of 60 lines, letters of 2 mm or less, and space between lines from 4 to 6 mm, 4Q275 has a minute script of 1 to 1.5 mm, and an average 5 mm spacing of lines, and 4Q369 has 2 mm letters and a line space between 5 and 6 mm). These are often manuscripts where as much material as possible was crammed into the available space (regardless of whether the scroll was large or not). Two manuscripts, 4Q89 and 4Q90, provide an illustrative example of such differences in format. Both manuscripts probably originally contained only Psalm 119. 4Q89 is regular in its reading format: it has normal to large spacing of letters and words, line spacing of 6 to 8 mm as well as a 3 mm script. It also utilizes *vacat*s between the stanzas of the Psalm. The manuscript is thus in the normal range in all of these matters. 4Q90 in turn has a script of 2 mm or less, line division average of 5 mm, with normal space between letters and words, and no extant *vacat*s. This scroll would have been much more difficult to use in a (public) reading than 4Q89, and both of these could be further compared with Psalm 119 on 11QPs[a] where the contrast with 4Q90 would be even more marked.

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20 Cf. Tov 2004, 51, who considers it likely that most of the papyrus manuscripts from Qumran preserve personal copies. Falk 1998 envisions a communal liturgical occasion especially for the daily prayers but in this study he is more concerned with proving a liturgical use in general than with a differentiation between manuscripts meant for public and private uses. Moreover, his arguments in this study stem most of all from the contents of the work, not from the material evidence. In his more recent study, Falk 2014, he considers all these opisthographs, including 4Q504, to be almost certainly personal copies.

21 Note also Antony Perrot's analysis of these opisthographs in this volume, where he adduces additional evidence that these scrolls were probably not intended for continuous reading, but rather served as repositories for prayers taken up at appropriate times.

In addition to such cases there are a few manuscripts where the letter size and spacing could be described as extra small or even miniature. For example, 3QLamentations has letters of only 1 mm with short spacing of words and line spacing varying from 4 to 5 mm, making reading the text very difficult. A curious case are the manuscripts of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Most of them are in a small reading format with letters of 2 mm, line divisions around 4 to 6 mm, and normal or short spacing between letters and words (e. g., 4Q400, 4Q401, and 4Q402). The smallest formatting in the collections containing the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* is found in 4Q403. While the word and letter spaces are normal in relation to the script and *vacat*s are regularly used between songs, the hand is only 1 to 1.5 mm, and divisions between lines from 3 to 4 mm. These scrolls, and especially 4Q403,[22] are not formatted for use in a public ritual setting but apparently rather contained a relatively large collection of songs in a minimum amount of space.[23]

The final manuscript dealt with here is another psalms manuscript, 4Q88. It has many peculiarities in terms of both formatting and content. It has a small, 2 to 2.5 mm, semi-cursive script with short to normal spacing of letters and words, and a line division typically around 5 mm. The manuscript was relatively tall with 23 to 25 lines, but the width of columns is only 12 to 30 letter spaces. This would have been an expected format for psalms in a stichometric arrangement, but no such psalms are extant on the manuscript. Rather the short columns are written tightly in a prose format, and it seems that there may not even have been *vacat*s between psalms. The psalms also contain an unusually large number of small textual variants in relation to other psalms manuscripts,[24] and Aramaic influence is evident at least in the case of the *Apostrophe to Zion* in relation to the version found in 11QPs[a].[25] Taking all of these indicators into account, it could well be that 4Q88 is a scroll written down at least partly from memory—accounting for the Aramaic influence —onto an existing piece of leather that was not ideally formatted for the scribe's needs, which apparently was to include as many psalms as possible in the available space. Regardless of whether this is the case, the scroll is definitely not a scroll prepared for public ritual use, but some kind of private collection of material.

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22 Cf. Falk 2014, 70.
23 Cf. Schücking-Jungblut (in this volume).
24 See further Skehan/Ulrich/Flint 2000, 86–87.
25 According to the editors, Skehan/Ulrich/Flint 2000, 87, all the apocryphal compositions in 4Q88 contain Aramaisms, but without comparative material, as is found with the *Apostrophe to Zion*, it cannot be shown whether this is a peculiarity of the versions in 4Q88 or an original trait in the compositions.

Conclusions

In previous research many claims have been made concerning the possible uses of specific psalm and prayer manuscripts from Qumran. These arguments have been built mainly on the overall size of the manuscripts and their extant contents. In this paper it has been examined what would be the impact of investigating the readability of manuscripts on the basis of such claims. A survey was conducted of the 119 psalm and prayer manuscripts from Qumran that paid particular attention to those aspects that would have made a scroll easy or difficult to read, especially in a public setting. Before matters of material formatting were discussed, some general features common to nearly all of these 119 manuscripts were presented. According to this study a typical psalm or prayer collection from Qumran was written in Hebrew in a formal or semi-formal hand on a parchment manuscript and the scribe would have employed *vacat*s to show divisions between different compositions. Unlike former studies this survey took the general size of individual scrolls into account only as auxiliary information, and the same is true for the contents of the works in the manuscripts. The main focus in this article was to find manuscripts that deviate from the normal range in regard to script size, and space left between letters, words, and lines because these factors would have directly impacted the readability of the manuscripts. Most investigated manuscripts naturally fell within the range of normal in all of these aspects or contained an abnormality only within one of these factors. But about thirty manuscripts fell significantly enough outside this range to be considered here as scrolls possibly meant for public reading, easy private use, or difficult to read at least in a public setting, and hence probably acting as repositories of compositions written in as condensed a manner as possible in the available space. Of course, such a study works on the level of probabilities and offers no certainties as to how a particular manuscript was actually used in its historical setting. Nevertheless, the analysis does reveal some manuscripts that were plausibly formatted by the scribe for easy reading and others where the readability of a text in public was not an issue for the scribe at the time the manuscript was prepared and inscribed.

Of course the crux of the matter is how much weight readability should be given in determining the plausible setting a manuscript was used in. In as far as the general notion among scholars stands that the size of the scroll, its height, width, margins, etc., were usually carefully chosen for the intended content and use of the scroll, the matters related to readability should also be taken into account as providing additional important evidence for such intentions. When viewing the different manuscripts individually on digital images that can easily be enlarged, these observations might seem inconsequential. However, when studied in actual size and preferably alongside manuscripts of similar general size but different formatting, the importance of these observations is readily observable. If the manuscripts with the smallest and largest reading formats are compared, a manuscript with a small format can contain three lines in the space where the large reading format scroll only has one

and the impact of the script size on the available letter spaces in a column is in similar ratio. The impact on reading that such differences make is easily testable simply by modifying the font size and line spacing of texts by similar ratios in modern word processing programs. Naturally this is just one aspect in the materiality of the scrolls, but it should be more regularly incorporated as an important factor in future studies.

In this study only the clearest and most peculiar cases among the psalm and prayer manuscripts from Qumran were briefly presented. In future studies, all of these should be discussed in more detail, and holistic analyses should also be made, especially on the intended uses of specific manuscripts falling into the upper and lower reaches of "normal readability". Furthermore, these observations concerning readability and formats should be placed in a larger comparative framework by relating them to similar data gathered from manuscripts containing texts of other literary genres, such as narrative or legal works.

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Fig. 1: Mika S. Pajunen.

Friederike Schücking-Jungblut

Reading the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*

Observations on Material, Layout, and Text

Reading is a social mode of reception of a script-bearing artifact. Whereas by no means all writing was and is meant to be read,[1] the scribal production and reproduction of *literary* compositions—in a broad sense—aimed and aim at being read. Dealing with ancient manuscripts that show literary compositions, two dimensions of reading come to mind: first, reading ancient manuscripts in a present-day scholarly perspective, and second, asking about the reading practices of the ancient readers. In the first context, one could evaluate the state of preservation of the manuscripts, the possibilities for reconstruction, the variances ("readings") between different manuscripts, et cetera. In the second direction of research, one is asking about the modes of reception in the historical and social contexts from which the documents were produced. The first dimension is mainly the concern of editions of ancient manuscripts. Since the manuscripts of interest in this paper are all published in several editions from the last thirty years,[2] I can focus on the second question, the ancient reading practices.

But since reading—as most practices of reception—is a momentary act, that only rarely leaves marks in the manuscripts themselves, it is almost impossible to explore ancient modes of reading from the manuscripts that have been or can be assumed to have been read. What is accessible for research, however, are hints about intended modes of reading and reception in the documents themselves. Such hints might be found in the texts. However, codicological features of the manuscripts, for example, the choice of material, its preparation for the act of writing, and the design and the layout of the script can perhaps better shed light on the intended reading of the concrete document than the text itself.[3] Along these lines, the present paper analyzes the manuscripts of the early Jewish *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* that were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls by considering not only the scholarly editions of the texts, but

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1 See e. g. the various examinations of restricted presence of writing in Frese/Keil/Krüger (eds.) 2014.
2 Newsom (ed.) 1985; Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 173–401; García Martínez/Tigchelaar/van der Woude (eds.) 1998, 259–304; Charlesworth/Newsom 1999; see also the following translation: Davila 2000, 83–167.
3 Cf. Snyder 2000, esp. 26f, 47f.

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also the images of the manuscripts, since the latter might reveal information relevant for this paper that are not recorded in the editions. In the first part, the composition and its manuscripts are presented, focused already on those aspects that can be evaluated as evidence for the ancient reading of the respective manuscripts. In the second part, further details of the manuscripts and their layout are analyzed—the transition between two songs, the empty spaces and lines (*vacats*) within one song, and the representation of the deity. Lastly, some textual aspects will be taken into account by searching for self-referential elements concerning the reception of the composition. As a conclusion, the results of the analysis of all three dimensions, the manuscripts, their layout, and the texts will be taken together to get a general view on the reading practices in Ancient Judaism using the example of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.

1 The Manuscripts

The so-called *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (שירות עולת השבת *šîrôt ʿôlat haššabbāt*) are a sequence of thirteen songs originating in the late Second Temple Period of Ancient Israel. The title is adapted from the superscriptions of the individual sections of the composition. According to the superscriptions, the songs were intended for the first thirteen Sabbaths, i. e. the first quarter of the year.[4]

The collection is attested by fragments of seven—maybe eight—scrolls from cave 4 of Qumran, and another fragmented copy from cave 11; one more fragment was found within the fortress of Masada (tab. 1).[5] Among those compositions that are not part of the (later) Biblical canon, only few have survived in such relatively high numbers. Thus, the mere number of copies found in the Judean Desert might already point to the importance of this composition for the *yaḥad* of Qumran[6]—and maybe also for Second Temple Judaism as a whole. Especially the evidence from Masada might indicate that the Širot were read not only within the *yaḥad* but in different groups among Second Temple Judaism, although it cannot be ruled out, that this manuscript originates in Qumran as well.[7]

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4 On the superscriptions, see below, p. 80 f.

5 All extant copies of the Širot match the criteria for a "typical psalm or prayer collection" identified by Pajunen (in this volume, p. 58): written in Hebrew in a (semi-)formal hand on a leather/parchment manuscript with divisions between individual compositions.

6 Ever since the first editions of the composition, the connection between the Širot and the *yaḥad* is debated. While the Širot certainly were popular in Qumran—as can be seen from the number of extant manuscripts and the fact, that other (sectarian) compositions adopted aspects of content and style from them (cf. e. g. Charlesworth/Newsom 1999, 4 f.)—their provenience is disputed. C. Newsom, who originally assumed the composition to be of sectarian origin (Newsom [ed.] 1985, 1–4), more recently argued in favor of a pre-Qumran provenience (Charlesworth/Newsom 1999, 4 f). Others still regard a *yaḥadic* provenience more convincing (e. g. Rietz 2007, 49–52).

7 The assumed common *Vorlage* of Mas 1k and 4Q405 might lead in this direction, as well; cf. below fn. 48.

Tab. 1: The manuscripts of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.

Siglum	Name	Number of Fragments	Paleographic Dating[8]	Content[9] (parts of songs)
4Q400	4QShirShabb^a	7	75–50 BCE	1, *2*
4Q401	4QShirShabb^b	38	~25 BCE	*1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6*
4Q402	4QShirShabb^c	12	~25 BCE	4, 5
4Q403	4QShirShabb^d	3	25–1 BCE	6, 7, 8
4Q404	4QShirShabb^e	25	~25 BCE	6, 7, *8*
4Q405	4QShirShabb^f	105	~50 BCE	6, 7, 8, *9, 10*, 11, 12, 13
4Q406	4QShirShabb^g	5	?[10]	*6?, 8?*[11]
4Q407	4QShirShabb^h	2	~50 BCE?	?[12]
11Q17	11QShirShabb	42	20–50 CE	*7, 8, 9, 10*, 11, 12, 13
Mas 1k	MasShirShabb	1	~50 CE (before 73 CE)	5, 6

The fragmentary scrolls do obviously not preserve the entire composition. It is striking that the reconstruction for all manuscripts assumes that the respective fragments belong to subsequent songs of the cycle. Whereas the material evidence[13] for these reconstructions is rather convincing in some cases, in other instances this assumption seems to be rather a presupposition. But even if it were true for all the manuscripts, the material evidence could not answer the question, whether all—or even any—of the manuscripts contained the complete cycle.[14] While the passages attested by several manuscripts show some minor textual variants, by and large, the text of

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8 According to Newsom (ed.) 1985; Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998.

9 As reconstructed by Carol Newsom (Newsom [ed.] 1985; Eshel et al. [eds.] 1998), all numbers in italic script refer to assignments labeled by her as (highly) probable or conjectural. For 11Q17 also García Martínez/Tigchelaar/van der Woude (eds.) 1998 has been consulted.

10 The few extant fragments of this scroll cannot be dated paleographically because the ink has eaten away parts of the leather. Thus, the writing can only be reconstructed from the shape of the holes which makes paleographic propositions impossible, cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 395.

11 Some expressions on the fragments are typical for the sixth and the eighth song. But the ascription is debatable; cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 395–398, see also below fn. 54.

12 The two small fragments exclusively contain words that can also be found elsewhere in the Širot. But since they do not show a superscription or other vocabulary limited to the Širot, the ascription is by no means certain; cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 399–401.

13 I. e. especially the arrangement of fragments in their find-context or recurring forms of destruction (cf. e. g. for 4Q405 Eshel et al. [eds.] 1998, 309–311).

14 Only in the case of 4Q405 the editors even mention the possibility—or probability—of a scroll containing all thirteen songs; Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 311.

the composition is stable.[15] Also, the orthography is rather uniform between all the copies.[16] However, the extant fragments of the scrolls reveal that they were rather different in regard to their material aspects, layout, and scribal character (tab. 2).

Tab. 2: Material Aspects of the Scrolls[17]

Scroll	Height (cm)	Number of Lines	Margins		Space btw. Col. (mm)	Lines (mm)	Script Size (mm)	Visible Rulings
			Top (mm)	Bottom (mm)				
4Q400	12.7	21	10–13	13	~12	~5	2	X
4Q401	?	?	13	16	~12	6–7	2	X
4Q402	?	?	–	–	*~11*	~5	*~2*	X
4Q403	18+*	50	8–11	–	10	3–4	1.5	X
4Q404	?	?	–	–	–	6.8	2.5–3	O
4Q405	21–22	25*	–	–	~9–16	6–9	2.5–3.5	X
4Q406	?	?	–	–	–	~7	3	X
4Q407	?	?	–	13+	–	~7	3	O
11Q17	14–19*	18–25*	–	–	*>12.5*	7–8	1.3–2	X[18]
Mas 1k	21.5	26	~20	16+	18	7	3	X

Focused on those five scrolls that allow for at least partial reconstruction, the degree of variation among the material features is remarkable. Compared to the overall corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls, 4Q405, 11Q17, and Mas 1k are all to be put at the transition between scrolls with medium writing blocks (15–24 lines per column) and such with large writing blocks (25–34 lines per column).[19] At the same time, the height of all

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15 Cf. e. g. Alexander 2006, 14f.

16 Only 4Q405, which is one of the oldest of the copies, shows *waw* as *mater lectionis* a bit less regularly than the other manuscripts (Eshel et al. [eds.] 1998, 308) and 4Q403 varies the spelling of words more than other copies (ibid., 254f.; see also below, p. 75f.).

17 Data from Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998; García Martínez/Tigchelaar/van der Woude (eds.) 1998; Tov 2004; Falk 2014; "*" is used to indicate reconstruction; numbers in italic script are from my own measuring based on the high-definition photographs accessible at *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library* (www.deadseascrolls.org.il; last accessed: 16.04.2018).

18 Exceptionally clear rulings, obviously applied with reddish ink; cf García Martínez/Tigchelaar/van der Woude (eds.) 1998, 260; Tov 2004, 58.

19 Cf. Tov 2004, 86f.; 4Q405 and 11Q17 are not listed in Tov's synopsis, probably because the number of lines for these manuscripts is reconstructed.

three manuscripts is of an average size in relation to the number of lines.[20] 4Q400, on the other hand, has a few less lines per column but measures just a bit more than half of these scrolls. Thus, the margins, the script size,[21] and the interlinear spaces on that scroll are smaller than in the three manuscripts mentioned before. Nevertheless, the writing is easily readable.[22] In comparison, 4Q403 is completely different. It belongs to a very small group of manuscripts that have fifty or more lines per column.[23] But as different from all other documents in this group, it is not written on high leather sheets. Its height measures ca. 18 cm. As a result, the writing consists of "minute letters"[24] and the space between lines is very small. This in turn leads to a surpassing number of letter spaces per line, whereas the column width is not unusual.[25] Additionally, in this manuscript the margins both at the top and between the columns, are very small. Taken together, the outer material features of 4Q403 are rather average, but its writing occupies much of the leather, and is very small and cramped compared both to the other manuscripts of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and to the overall corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Since the script size is exceptionally small, it must have been written by a trained scribe, and, thus, reading it is arduous but still possible. In addition to these layout-features, the orthography of 4Q403 is a bit less consistent concerning the use of *mater lectionis* and historical/phonetic spellings than in the other manuscripts of the Širot.[26] And finally, 4Q403 also shows more scribal interventions than all the other witnesses. In the main fragment, Newsom identified six interlinear corrections[27] and another six times letters, words, or expressions[28] that were marked by cancellation dots as mistakes.[29] Additionally, she found traces of ink at several spots that might or might not be further cancellation dots,[30] and identified an abundance of minor scribal mistakes that were not corrected in the manuscript.[31]

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20 Tov 2004, 84–90 mentions the respective measurements but does not analyze the relation between scroll height and number of lines per column.

21 On the script size of 11Q17 see below.

22 Cf. Falk 2014, 70.

23 Tov 2004, 89 mentions 7 scrolls. He considers it possible, that a large format is one aspect of *de luxe-scrolls* and might serve as a hint for the authoritative character of a scroll (ibid., 91.125–129). But 4Q403 hardly belongs to these scrolls, since the only feature it shares with the other scrolls of this group is the high number of lines per column; cf. Falk 2014, 62, n. 116.

24 Tov 2004, 17.

25 Cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 253. The exceptionally high numbers of letters per line in 4Q403 can be seen e. g. by a comparison between 4Q403 1 ii,1–3 and 4Q404 6, which shows lines with only about half as many letters; cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 298.

26 Cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 254f.

27 They are located in the following columns/lines of fragment 1 i,3,4,19,27; ii,6,24.

28 In fragment 1 i,4,34–35,37,42; ii,12,21.

29 Cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 256–291.

30 Cf. the comments to the following lines i,18,33,37,39; ii,13,31 (Eshel et al. [eds.] 1998, 256–291).

31 Cf. the comments to the following lines (* indicates reconstruction) i,1,7,9–10*,30?,31; ii,5; (Eshel et al. [eds.] 1998, 256–291).

In sum, the scroll 4Q403 seems to be a less diligent copy utilizing the leather sheets at the best with only a minimum focus on lucidity. Thus, the decisive factor during its preparation seems to have been to reduce cost.[32]

Also for the other scrolls, the measurements might indicate the focus of the scribes during their preparation and writing of the scrolls. With a script size and margins just a bit below average, but a decisively smaller height of sheets, the focus of 4Q400 might have been on portability. It stands to reason that a smaller, but longer scroll is easier to be transported than a short scroll with high sheets.[33] The other three scrolls that allow for evaluation of their overall character (4Q405, 11Q17, and Mas 1k), are of a rather "large and generous format",[34] thus neither cost nor thoughts about portability seem to have influenced their production. However, 11Q17 stands out among these scrolls in two ways. Firstly, it has a very small script size, comparable to the one found in 4Q403. But at the same time, it shows generous interlinear spaces—as different from 4Q403—and is therefore easily readable. Secondly, this scroll has been meticulously prepared by its scribe: Whereas in all the other scrolls of the Širot that show horizontal—and sometimes vertical—rulings, these were applied with a sharp instrument ("*dry-point rulings*"), the rulings visible in 11Q17 were drawn with a special ink, differing from the black ink used for the writing. That detail makes this scroll extraordinary, probably indicating its special value.[35]

Finally, the material aspects mentioned thus far can be evaluated as to whether they can provide clues about ancient reading practices. For 4Q403, both the utilization of the leather sheets and the less diligent copying correspond to the assumption, that the scroll was a "scholar's personal copy for study".[36] Also, 11Q17 might count as a manuscript formatted for private—or library—use due to its small script size. However, its exceptional beauty might also indicate some kind of representative function—be it in a private or a public context.[37] For the other scrolls that allow for further

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32 Cf. Falk 2014, 69f., who estimates a width of just 1.25 m—11 columns for a scroll containing the complete collection in this style of writing (compared to e. g. 20–21 columns [3.5–4 m—*my estimation based on the available data for column width and space between columns*] for 4Q405; cf. Eshel et al. [eds.] 1998, 309–311).

33 Cf. Falk 2014, 69f.

34 Falk 2014, 69, referring only to 4Q405.

35 11Q17 is one of only very few scrolls which show this feature, cf. Tov 2004, 58.

36 Falk 2014, 70.

37 Since it is debated whether the scrolls found in Qumran cave 11 initially belonged to the same collection as the scrolls from other caves, especially from caves 1 and 4, 11Q17 might have had another socio-cultural background than the other copies of the Širot (for the discussion on the cohesion of the caves see e. g. Pfann 2007; Stökl Ben Ezra 2011; Crawford 2012). Thus, its extraordinary layout could also indicate especially wealthy owner(s). Cf. the observations on the meaning of the aesthetics of scrolls beyond their functional purposes by Johnson 2000, 612–615. However, the editors of 11Q17 note a striking similarity between this scroll and 4Q405 concerning the preserved texts, at least one "questionable reading", and the overall reconstruction; cf. García Martínez/Tigchelaar/van der Woude (eds.) 1998, 266.

assumptions on their character, it is conceivable that they were intended to be used in a ritual performance.[38] Considering also the relatively high total number of copies of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and especially those found in Qumran cave 4, it is also possible that they were used by several participants within a liturgical setting of the *yaḥad*.[39] These assumptions, however, can hardly be more than speculation.

2 Layout

From these broader observations on the manuscripts themselves, I'll now turn the focus more to the writing, concretely to the layout of the songs. At first, it can be observed, that the layout of the individual songs has no special features. Whereas it can be debated whether the texts of the compositions follow the rules of (late) Biblical poetry,[40] their layout is clearly "prosaic" throughout all the manuscripts.[41] This means that the eventual poetical structures are not at all represented in the layout of the songs, but they are written down as running texts—just like any prose composition.[42] What is clearly represented in the layout, however, is the transition between two songs, which therefore should be analyzed in detail.

2.1 Transition Between Two Songs

Throughout the manuscripts the beginning of every new song is clearly marked. As it is the case with other manuscripts from the Judean Desert, especially those bearing poetic or liturgical compositions, scribes seem to have been rather individualistic in shaping the division between two compositions (tab. 3).[43] All new songs start in a new line. But the position of that line on the leather sheet and its layout as well as the

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38 Cf. Falk 2014, 69f., who appropriately states that such a scribal intention says nothing on whether the scrolls were in fact used in liturgical settings.

39 Cf. Stökl Ben Ezra 2016, 79.

40 Cf. Segert 1988; Davila 2000, 87f.

41 Tov 2004, 167 assumes that a specific poetical layout (stichographic arrangement of poetical units) was confined to those texts considered to be "Biblical", even though not used in all documents belonging to that group (cf. also Tov 2012). Pajunen (in this volume, p. 58) assumes that stichographic layout is related to the clear parallelism of (earlier) "Biblical" psalms. Both would be are applicable to the "prosaic" layout of the Širot.

42 However, there might be a few exceptions, like the one in Mas 1k II,20–22. All these lines begin with "שבע תהלי [...]" ("*seven psalms of* [...]") coinciding with the repetitive structure of the text that has seven repetitions of the expression in lines 19–22 (two per line in lines 19–21, one in line 22).

43 The different modes of denoting sense units are described in Tov 2004, 143–154; concerning Psalms and similar compositions see also ibid., 163f.

layout of the preceding lines vary substantially. Unsurprisingly, songs can begin at the top of a new column. This is the case for the first song (4Q400 1 i,1),[44] and also subsequent songs could start on a new column (4Q401 1–2,1).[45] If they do not start on the top of a column, the last written words of the previous song often end before the left margin of the line, so that an open space emerges at the end of that line (4Q400 3 ii,6; Mas 1k I,7; 4Q403 1 i,29; 4Q403 1 ii,16). Sometimes a completely blank line precedes the beginning of a new song. In the two extant fragments that show this feature and allow for statements on the line before, the blank line follows an open space at the last line of the preceding text (4Q400 3 ii,7; 4Q403 1 ii,17).[46] And finally, in at least one instance, the written text of the first line of a new song is indented (4Q405 20 ii,6). Due to the fragmentary character of the manuscripts it cannot always be determined whether just one of these features or a combination of several possibilities has been used.[47]

Since so many manuscripts of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* have been found in cave 4 of Qumran, we can assume, that at least some of them were copies of the same *Vorlage*[48] or even of one another. All the more noticeable is the fact that the layout of the beginning of a new song varies even for one and the same song (see the columns for songs 6, 8, and 12 in tab. 3). The copyists seem to have focused on copying the *texts* accurately, whereas the layout could have been modified—e. g. according to the purpose of the scroll or its material preconditions.[49] Additionally, some manuscripts (e. g., 4Q400; 4Q403; 4Q405), which show more than one division between two songs in their extant fragments, reveal that the layout of such a division varied also within one document. Thus, also a single scribe seems to have been rather free in shaping the beginning of a new song. Taken together, there was obviously neither a fixed tradition on how to indicate the transition between two compositions within

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44 The beginning of the first song and thereby of the whole composition is only extant in 4Q400—probably because that scroll was furled inside out, so that the beginning of the scroll came to be at the most protected position of a stored scroll, cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 174. According to Tov 2004, 108 f. this fact might indicate an active use of the scroll before its storage.

45 Since this is attested only once and the preceding column is lost, nothing can be said on whether also in this case the last line of the previous song received a special layout. It is also possible, that 4Q401 1–2 shows the beginning of that scroll, since an exceptionally wide margin is visible to the right of the writing block. If this is the case, the composition must have appeared in a smaller extent or a different order than—at least—4Q400; cf. Tov 2004, 110, n. 148.

46 Since in several cases nothing can be said on the end of the previous line (4Q406 1,3; 11Q17 VII,8), it is conceivable that a blank line could also occur instead of an open section; cf. Tov 2004, 146–148.164.

47 See the many question marks in table 3 and the footnotes to almost all manuscripts.

48 In some instances, also the text—especially textual mistakes—indicate that some of the extant scrolls were copied from the same "archetype"; cf. e. g. the notes in Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 245.263 on a common *Vorlage* of 4Q405 and Mas 1k and ibid., 264 on a common "archetype" of 4Q403 and 4Q405; cf. also García Martínez/Tigchelaar/van der Woude (eds.) 1998, 266 on similarities between 11Q17 and 4Q405. However, a systematic analysis of the relationship between the individual manuscripts has yet to be undertaken.

49 This is very common among the Dead Sea Scrolls; cf. Tov 2004, 29 f.

the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, nor did scribes choose one system and use it consistently. A third observation should be added. As said before, the initial words of a new composition are always preceded by at least one line-break. Thus, the only mode of denoting sense units—known from the overall corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls—not attested in the extant material of the Širot is a "space in the middle of the line ('closed section' in the Masoretic tradition)".[50] Whereas it cannot be ruled out that the lacking of this layout feature is caused by the fragmentary character of the manuscripts, it goes well with the assumption, that the only important factor concerning sense divisions within the Širot was that the beginning of a new song must be clearly discernable. A free space (closed section) in the middle of a line might have been just too easily be overlooked. In sum, scribes seem to have been free to choose just that mode of sense division that matched best to the layout of the last lines of the preceding song to indicate the beginning of a new song as clearly as possible.[51]

Tab. 3: The layout of the beginning of a new song in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice; manuscripts of songs 1–7.

Song[52]	1	2?	4?	6	6	7
Manuscript	4Q400 1 i,1	4Q400 3 ii,8	4Q401 1–2,1[54]	Mas 1k I,8	4Q406 1,4[56]	4Q403 1 i,30
New Column	X	O	X	O	O	O
Open Section (Previous line)	—	X	—	X	?	X
Blank line	—	X	—	O	X	O
Indentation of new line	O[53]	O	O	O[55]	O?	O

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50 Tov 2004, 145.

51 That applies even to 4Q403, the manuscript that was produced with the focus on reducing costs—as seen above (p. 76). Although, an open space should have been sufficient to indicate the beginning of a new song, in fragment 1 ii,18, that manuscript shows a blank line before the beginning of song 8—maybe because in the preceding line the writing occupied more than half of the line.

52 For those songs not listed in the table, the first line is not extant.

53 The beginning of the line is reconstructed, but the editor names several reasons why the line should have begun at the right margin, cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 178f.

54 Fragment 1 bears the beginning of a song. But only by combining it with fragment 2 it can be identified as the fourth song with some certainty, cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 199f.

55 The beginning of the line is reconstructed. Considerations of space, however, do not allow for indentation; cf. for the reconstruction Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 243.

56 Obviously, a new song begins on this fragment. Assigning it to song 6, however, is debatable, cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 395f. In her earlier edition C. Newsom regarded an ascription to song 8 as more probable (Newsom [ed.] 1985, 356).

Tab. 3: continued; manuscripts of songs 7–12.

Song	7	8	8	8	12	12
Manuscript	4Q404 3,2[57]	4Q403 1 ii,18	4Q405 8b,1[58]	11Q17 3 (II,4)[59]	4Q405 20 ii,6	11Q17 16–18 (VII,9)
New Column	O	O	?	O?	O	O
Open Section (Previous line)	X?	X	?	?	?[60]	?
Blank line	O	X	?	?	O	X
Indentation of new line	?	O	X?	X?	X	O[61]

In a last step, this layout feature is to be correlated to the textual evidence of the songs. Every song begins with a superscription. These headings are framed rather uniformly.[62] They always begin with "למשכיל" ("*for the instructor*") as a directive that can similarly be found in the superscriptions of Biblical psalms.[63] This attribution is followed by the title "שיר עולת השבת" ("*song of the burnt offering of the Sabbath*")—which also gave the composition its name—and a number indicating the position of the respective Sabbath in the year and, assumingly, at the same time the number of the song in the composition. The third element of the heading is a date formula consisting of a day and a month. It places the Sabbaths within a solar calendar with fixed dates—364 days per year, every year beginning on a Wednesday—that is

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57 The fragment is too small to say anything about the layout of the division between song 6 and 7. But since there seem to be traces of ink above the initial line of song 7, it is possible that there was a (small) open section at the end of the last line of song 6. The indentation of the first line of the new song is less probable; cf. for the reconstruction Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 296.

58 The fragment contains only parts of the first two lines of the song. Thus, already assigning it to song 8 is debatable. Additionally, nothing can be said on the preceding lines. The editor assumes the first line to be indented, cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 325.

59 The fragment contains only parts of the first four lines of the song. Thus, again nothing can be said on the preceding lines. The editor assumes the song to start in line 4 of the column and considers indentation probable, cf. García Martínez/Tigchelaar/van der Woude (eds.) 1998, 269f.

60 The previous line is only partially extant. Thus, it cannot be ruled out that it contained a (small) open section at the end; cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 345.

61 The right margin is not extant. But since the end of the first line of the new song and the beginning of its second line can be reconstructed as showing words that immediately follow each other in 4Q405 20 ii,7, the first line was rather not indented; cf. for the reconstruction García Martínez/Tigchelaar/van der Woude (eds.) 1998, 283.

62 The complete superscription is extant only in 4Q403 1 i,30 (song 7).

63 Cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 179.

broadly attested for the late Second Temple Period and especially within the Dead Sea Scrolls.[64] Thus, the headings of the songs indicate that every song is meant for a special day, concretely one of the Sabbaths of the first quarter of the year.[65] The layout features described here support the idea, that the composition was not meant to be read at a stretch, but rather reading or reciting the composition could have happened in parts. Therefore, the demarcated beginning of a new song could have signaled to the reader to stop reading here and continue it the following week.

2.2 Vacats

While the sense divisions between individual songs vary significantly concerning the shaping, they completely coincide concerning the placement of the divisions. This is hardly surprising since the beginning of each new composition is clearly indicated on the level of the text by the superscriptions. In addition to these clearly marked transitions between two songs, empty spaces (*vacats*) and even some completely blank lines can also be found within the individual compositions.[66] Especially the two blank lines (4Q403 1 i,15; 4Q405 3 ii,12) resemble—from their representation in the edition—the division between two compositions. Although they both occur in the same part of the overall composition, i. e. song 6, they do not appear at the same place within this composition. They both lack a plausible explanation based on the texts because they are located in the middle of sentences. Looking at the photographs of fragment 3 from 4Q405, however, I would query whether it is at all suitable to describe the phenomenon as a *vacat* line. In this fragment—as in the others sorted in the first group of fragments of this manuscript by the editor[67]—dry lines are visible but sometimes disregarded, leading to varying line spacing. This is exactly what happens in fragment 3, lines 11–14.[68] Thus, what can be seen here, is better to be described as sloppy scribal practice than as a *vacat* line. The case for 4Q403 is in a way different. As we saw above, the main concern for the scribe of this scroll was to save space. Therefore, a line left blank is all the more striking. Nevertheless, here again, we see not just one

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64 Cf. for a review on the respective literature Albani 1997; for the calendars within the Dead Sea Scrolls VanderKam 1998.

65 As Newsom showed, the composition consisted only of these thirteen songs and did not extend to all 52 Sabbaths of the year (Newsom [ed.] 1985, 5). Additionally, several thematic correspondences with the festival cycle of the first quarter of the year indicate, that the Širot were not intended to be repeated for the other three quarters; cf. ibid., 19 and Charlesworth/Newsom 1999, 4 against e. g. Maier 1992, 544.

66 Completely blank lines not followed by the beginning of a new song appear in 4Q403 1 i,15 and 4Q405 3 ii,12. Smaller *vacats* are more widespread: 4Q400 1 i,6; 1 i,8[?]; 1 i,12; 1 i,16; 1 ii,8; 1 ii,12; 1 ii,14[?]; 1 ii,16; 2,5; Mas 1k II,23; 4Q403 1 i,6; 1 ii,32; 4Q405 13,2; 23 i,13; 23 ii,7; 23 ii,12; 11Q17 12,9; 17,2.

67 I. e. fragments 1–10, cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 307f.

68 Cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 320.

blank line, but also the line before leaves a larger interlinear space than the average within this manuscript. Since the leather is badly damaged in this part, it cannot be ruled out that there were material problems here, already when the writing was applied. But regarding the high number of scribal errors and corrections within this manuscript, a scribal mistake is conceivable, as well.[69]

The smaller *vacats*, however, should be discussed in their own right. Some of them are obviously placed at the beginning of new sentences or even larger units within one song.[70] Unfortunately, for nearly all those parts of the manuscripts that show a *vacat*, no second witness is extant. The only exception might be the small *vacat* in 4Q403 1 i,6, that can also be reconstructed in Mas 1k II,16.[71] But this evidence—especially since it is based on reconstruction—is not enough to say anything on whether the scribes copied these subordinate sense divisions or whether each scribe just added them due to his own interpretation of the text. In sum, it can be concluded, that—at least some of—the scribes[72] who wrote down the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* provided their readers non-textual clues about the structure of the text and thereby influenced the reading of their manuscripts. Whether this happened while writing down those copies that were found in Qumran and Masada or already existed in their *Vorlage(n)* can no longer be discerned.

2.3 The Name of God

In early Judaism—ca. 3rd or 2nd century BCE—people increasingly avoided to speak out the name of God represented by the so-called tetragrammaton יהוה ("*yhwh*").[73] This can be seen in many Dead Sea Scrolls, which avoid the use of the term and substitute it by other expressions, represent the tetragrammaton in Paleo-Hebrew letters, or replace it by four points, the so-called *tetrapuncta*—the latter two usually in "Biblical" texts or passages.[74] In some scrolls—especially those characterized as *yaḥadic*—this feature is also transferred to other names or representations of the deity, especially to the terms "אל" and "אלוהים" (both meaning "*God*").[75] Since there is no evidence that

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69 Cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 259.

70 Cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 182.186.190 on some of the instances from 4Q400 (1 i,16; 1 ii,12; 2,5). The same can be said on the smaller *vacats* from 4Q403 and Mas 1k, on most of those from 4Q405 (13,2; 23 ii,7; 23 ii,12), and maybe also on 11Q17 17,2.

71 Cf. Charlesworth/Newsom 1999, 136 n. 32.

72 *Vacats* can be found in all five scrolls from which major fragments are extant. From the others only rather small fragments are extant, so that the absence of *vacats* is hardly surprising.

73 Cf. Green 2000, 498f.

74 Cf. Tov 2004, 218–221.

75 Cf. Tov 2004, 238f.; Green 2000, 497f. points out, that the presentation of divine names is rather inconsistent both within individual documents and the overall corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

also these other names were avoided in oral texts, the marking of these terms might just indicate that the respective term is used as a substitute for the tetragrammaton.[76]

In the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* the deity is never called by the tetragrammaton. Instead, both the terms "אל" and "אלוהים" ("*God*") are used.[77] In nearly all the manuscripts, neither of these words received any special treatment. In a way, this makes reconstructions and translations of the extant text fragments more complicated, because both terms are also used to denote subordinate god-like beings. While in the case of "אל" a clear distinction can be made from the number used—singular for God, plural for subordinate beings—the term "אלוהים", which is originally a plural form, is used for both. Thus, in understanding and translating the texts, one always has to decide whether God or these subordinate beings are meant—not always an easy task, especially if the literary context is mostly lost. However, there again is one exception. Two of the fragments of 4Q406 show the word אלוהים or parts of it in Paleo-Hebrew letters.[78] The scribe probably presented the expression in this special way to underline its sacred character.[79] Albeit,—if the reconstruction of fragment 1 is correct[80]—the scribe wrote not only those instances of the word in Paleo-Hebrew letters that indicated the deity, but at least once also used the script in the other case, representing subordinate celestial beings. Thus, readers might in principle have realized the sacred character of the term from this manuscript more easily but still got no help by the layout in discerning the name of the deity from the plural-form of god-like beings. Accordingly, it can be concluded that the easy identification of a sacred term indicating the deity was no primary concern for all the scribes that produced the copies of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Moreover, the almost consistent presence of "אלוהים"—and "אל"—in plain script could indicate, that this term was not used as replacement of an older tetragrammaton but represented the deity in the Širot from their first edition onwards. Carried on to the level of readers, this might indicate that the word "אלוהים" was just ordinarily read out in the recitation of the Širot and, thus, received no special treatment also in the oral performance.

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76 Cf. Green 2000, 505.

77 The occurrence of this term is often taken as an indication of the non-/pre-Qumran origin of the composition, since the expression is broadly avoided in the *yaḥadic* literature; cf. e. g. Charlesworth/ Newsom 1999, 4f.

78 Cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 395–398. 4Q406 is severely damaged by the ink used for the writing. In consequence, the writing on the small extant fragments must be reconstructed from the holes left by the destructive ink (see above fn. 10).

79 Cf. on the phenomenon e. g. Siegel 1971.

80 Cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 396.

3 Metatextual Clues

In a last step, also the text of the composition should be analyzed in light of the question about how the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* were—supposed to be—read. Are there any indications within the text about ancient reading practices? Or—in other words—can the Širot be interpreted as self-referential metatexts, written entities that reflect their own character as texts?[81]

    The first element, that might give a hint is the directive "למשכיל" (*"for the instructor"*) in the superscriptions of the individual songs. This expression is reminiscent of the Biblical psalm headings in a twofold way. Firstly, the term "משכיל" itself is used thirteen times in the superscriptions. Yet in contrast to its use in the Širot, within the Biblical psalms, it is used without the preposition "ל" (*"for"*) and is therefore rather to be understood as a characterization of the respective psalm itself.[82] Therefore, as a second way, the directive resembles those parts of the psalm headings that are also introduced by the preposition *lamed* (לדוד *leₔdāwid*, למנצח *lamnaṣṣeₐḥ*, לאסף *leʾāsāp*, לבני קרח *libnê qoraḥ*, …). Although these terms probably should not be measured by the same yardstick, and their interpretations hover between statements of authorship, school-assignments, performance-instructions, guidelines for interpretation, and the beginning of collections,[83] one possible reading for all the expressions is the dedication to a person or group—however that is to be understood. In line with this, also the term "למשכיל" at the beginning of each of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* can be interpreted as a dedication.[84] In all likelihood, the figure pointed at by this expression, is the one described with the very same term also in other ("non-Biblical"/*"yaḥadic"*) compositions from the Judean Desert. According to the evidence especially from the *Rule of the Community* the *maśkîl* was a major office within the *yaḥad* (e. g. 1QS 3:13; 9:12–10:5), whose holder was not only wise himself but had to strive for nurturing the wisdom—understood as the true interpretation of the Torah—of other members by didactic instructions, and thereby exerted as a leader of the community as a whole.[85] Concerning the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the dedication to that central figure could indicate that he played a major role in the liturgical execution of the Širot.[86] Whether or not the dedication can be taken as a reference to the actual

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81 The term "metatext" is used here in accordance with its use within the CRC 933. Cf. Hilgert 2010, 98; Gertz et al. 2015; Focken/Ott (eds.) 2016.

82 Whether the term focuses on the content of the psalm (e. g. Kraus 1989, 19f.) or on its form (or its performance; cf. Koenen 1991) is still debated, but insignificant in the present context.

83 Cf. e. g. the summary by Mroczek 2016, 58–61.

84 Cf. Charlesworth/Newsom 1999, 4.

85 Cf. Newsom 1990; Rietz 2007, 46f.; in a more recent publication (Charlesworth/Newsom 1999, 5) Newsom is less certain and mentions also a second possibility as to which "למשכיל" could mean: "*to the one who is wise*" in a more general way.

86 Cf. Newsom 1990, 380; Elgvin 2013, 805.

reading practice of the composition, this cannot be decided. Anyways, the attribution to that leading figure in the community grants the Širot authority within the *yaḥad*.

The overall scope of the composition as well as one textual detail indicate that it was not just the *maṣkîl* who was intended to read or recite the Širot but a larger group.[87] In one single passage (4Q400 2,5–8), originating probably from the second song, first person plural grammatical forms are extant.[88] They refer to a group which compares its human priesthood and worship to the angelic described before. Since the grammatical form here is a plural form, the intended readers/reciters were likely to have been a worshipping community.[89]

Furthermore, also the second term of the superscriptions might be interesting as a metatextual reference to the Širot. The word "שיר" ("*song*") is known from its Biblical use especially in the Psalms and the Books of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah.[90] Leaving aside all discussions on its meaning concerning genre etc., the word is certainly connected to oral-musical performance.[91] In the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* the term is restricted to the superscriptions, just as in the Biblical Song of Songs. Whereas neither the earthly participants nor the celestial beings are reported to "sing" (שיר) anything,[92] other terms like "praise" (ידה/הלל), "sing praise" (זמר), "laud" (שבח), "bless" (ברך) or "rejoice" (רנן) are used frequently. Thus, the active voice is a common motive within the composition,[93] and the use of "שיר" in the heading might very well indicate, that the Širot were indeed meant to be sung. If they actually *were*, however, is another question that cannot be answered on the extant material.

Finally, the last element of the headings should be considered, the formula "עולת השבת x" ("*of the burnt offering of the xth Sabbath*"). This phrasing might invoke the impression of an execution of sacrifices accompanied by hymns—here the *Songs of the Sabbath sacrifice*—as described in Second Temple Literature (cf. 2 Chr 29:27–28; Sir 50:14–19).[94] However, apart from the superscriptions, there is hardly any connection to sacrificial cult within the composition.[95] Therefore, Newsom's suggestion to understand the formula rather as a designation of time is worth considering.[96] The connection of the Širot to the Sabbath sacrifice would then not be factual but temporal. That is, the prayer and the act of mystical self-transcending to the heavenly sanctuary expressed by the composition could profit from an established special

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87 Cf. e. g. Lieber 2004, 57f. et passim.

88 Cf. Eshel et al. (eds.) 1998, 187f.

89 Cf. Newsom (ed.) 1985, 17. Although the content of the praise (of earthly and celestial beings) is not described but frequently demanded, the Širot are hymnal praise themselves, cf. Ego 2015, 896f.

90 Cf. Fabry et al. 1993, 1263.

91 Cf. Fabry et al. 1993, 1269–1282.

92 Cf. Schuller 2016, 909.

93 Cf. Lieber 2004, 51f.

94 Cf. Newsom (ed.) 1985, 18.

95 Cf. Newsom (ed.) 1985, 18f.

96 Newsom (ed.) 1985, 19f.

connection between heaven and earth during Sabbath and especially during the time of the sacrifice. Transferred to the question of reading practices, this part of the heading would provide further information as to when the Širot were read or recited, even if it cannot be interpreted as data on the particulars of the performance.

4 Conclusion

Taking together all three levels of the analysis above, the manuscripts, their layout, and the metatextual elements, a fairly clear picture of the ancient reading practices of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* emerges. Whereas the texts and their layout give hints about the intended reading and reception of the Širot, the outer data on the manuscripts might indicate their actual use. Thus, all three dimensions reveal that it is at least possible that the composition was recited in a ritual setting. Both the arrangement of the text on the scrolls (at least on 4Q405, Mas 1k, and maybe 11Q17), the clearly discernable songs within the individual manuscripts, and the metatextual understanding of the superscriptions undergird this interpretation. Moreover, the clear distinction between the individual songs as well as the dating in the headings indicate that the Širot were meant to be read or recited in parts, one song for each of the first thirteen Sabbaths of the year. Thirdly, there are also hints concerning the persons involved in reading the cycle. It is, on the one hand, a leading figure, the *maśkîl*, mentioned in every superscription and maybe the owner of the "scholar's copy" 4Q403, and, on the other hand, a group of co-celebrators, represented within the text in the infrequently used first person plural forms and possibly making use of the high number of copies found in Qumran. Additionally, the further observations on the layout might indicate, that readers made use of structuring signals within the individual songs, and that the designation for God used in the composition (אלוהים) very likely received no special treatment in oral performance. But, of course, these further assumptions require the basic theory that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* actually were read out—in a liturgical context—to be true, and are thus of a lower level of likeliness.

In the end, the only question that remains unanswered from all three directions of analysis is the one, why the composition covered just the first quarter of the year and not all the Sabbaths, as presumed by the small metatextual passage *David's compositions* in the *Great Psalms Scroll* (11Q5):

ושיר לשורר לפני המזבח על עולת התמיד לכול יום ויום לכול ימי השנה ארבעה וששים ושלוש מאות ולקורבן השבתות שנים וחמשים שיר

And [David wrote] song(s) to sing before the altar over the burnt offerings, the daily one, day by day for all days of the year, 364, and for the offering of the Sabbaths, 52 song(s).

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Reading Material Features of Qumran *Tefillin* and *Mezuzot*

For fifty years or so, after the Qumran *tefillin* and *mezuzot* first came to light, scholarly focus centered on the biblical texts they contained, and on the relation of these artifacts to practices later discussed by post-destruction rabbis.[1] More recent works by Adler and Cohn have treated material features independently of the rabbinic corpus, alongside textual ones,[2] and here I will "reread" material features. To put it slightly differently, my goal in this article is to highlight the extent to which material considerations have informed the analysis of the Qumran *tefillin* and *mezuzot*—including instances where the material record shows less than has sometimes been claimed.[3]

Material Considerations in Identifying the *Tefillin* and *Mezuzot*

The items concerned consisted of some forty-five leather slips, preserved in fragmentary form, inscribed with excerpted biblical text.[4] In addition there were around twenty-five *tefillin* housings, only two of which contained decipherable written content when found.[5]

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1 References for the official publications of the texts are as follows: Barthélemy 1955, with plate XIV; Kuhn 1957 (these four texts were republished in DJD 6 by Milik 1962 [see below] together with the rest of the Cave 4 *tefillin*. Milik had identified further fragments as being from the same slips as those published by Kuhn, and also corrected some of the latter's readings. The four slips concerned have recently been republished in Busa 2015); Baillet 1962 (see also vol. 3** [*Planches*], XXXII–XXXIV); Yadin 1970 (Yadin's readings were subsequently corrected slightly in Baillet 1970); Milik 1977, with plates VII–XXVII. Official publications of the tefillin housings are Harding 1955, with plate 1.5–7; de Vaux 1962, 31 (see also vol. 3** [*Planches*], VIII.5–6); Milik 1962 (see also vol. 3** [*Planches*], XXXVIII.8; Yadin 1970; Milik 1977 (see also plate VI.1–13).
2 Cohn 2008, 55–79, 87–99; Adler 2017. For harmonization of the finds with rabbinic literature see in particular Yadin 1970; Rothstein 1992; Nakman 2004.
3 I will not however rehearse all the material characteristics of the findings, which can be found in the original publications, and are synthesized in the works by Adler, Cohn and Rothstein referenced in the previous footnote. Rothstein's work included discussion of scribal characteristics that had not been considered relevant for investigation by the original publishers.
4 The final volume of the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series lists only thirty-three such *tefillin* and *mezuzah* texts from Qumran. See Tov 2002. The DJD 39 total is, however, a little misleading. It is due to some sets of multiple slips being treated as single items by their publishers, while others were not, as well as to some—but not all—indecipherable slips being ignored.
5 The word "found" is used loosely when referring to slips and housings, as many were not found *in situ* by archaeologists. In fact the Qumran provenance of many *tefillin* and *mezuzot* was identified

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The housings, when closed, took the exterior form of a flattish rectangular leather pouch with one or more small protrusions; these were due to cells, inside which the slips had been placed. Although the housings were no longer stitched shut, as the sewing medium had disintegrated over their two millennia existence, the original thread holes were still visible. Fourteen of the housings contained four cells each for holding texts, two had three cells—quite possibly because they were incomplete four-cell types—, and the remainder had one cell each. Their identification as *tefillin* housings is assured, because five were discovered with their parchment contents still inside—three in Qumran Cave 4, one in Cave 5, and one that was purchased. While none of the one-cell types happened to contain parchment, both three-cell exemplars and three of the four-cell ones were found with parchment slips inside. Out of these, one three-cell and one four-cell type each contained three decipherable slips; the contents of the other three housings that still held parchment were too distressed to be unrolled.[6]

It is noteworthy that the first *tefillin* slips to be published were not found inside housings. Accordingly, their identification as part of a worn object was largely based on the resemblance of their contents to rabbinic *tefillin* texts. Even without such data, however, the very fact of an excerpted set of texts that mentioned tying would have been suggestive. Subsequently, 4QPhyl D, E, F and XQPhyl 1–3, which had been found inside their original housings, were published, so that the identification of all the *tefillin* texts came to rest on even more certain footing. Their characteristic script, combined with the overall textual similarity of the many exemplars to one another, reinforce the view that other slips containing verses from the same passages originated in *tefillin*.

Mezuzot are another matter. No *mezuzah* cases were found, and it is possible that *mezuzot* were anyway stuffed into interstitial spaces in doorframes without a covering. Altogether eight *mezuzot* were however identified, and distinguished from *tefillin* entirely on the basis of material characteristics—the distinctiveness of the way they were written, and the thickness and size of the slips concerned. Milik and Baillet, the two scholars who discussed *mezuzot*, distinguish them from *tefillin* in mentioning

– the superior quality of their calligraphy,
– paleographic development, to be contrasted with a uniform *tefillin* script,
– the general presence of intervals between words,

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as such by sellers, or their representatives, who had in effect looted the objects, and who in certain instances demonstrably provided false information about their finds. Having said that, I follow other scholars who take their Qumran identification seriously, although I cannot deny that "finding" may in some instances have taken place elsewhere in the Judean desert. Of the two *tefillin* housings just mentioned here, the one published in Yadin 1970 was purchased, and included an indecipherable slip that was determined by Yadin not to have been original to the housing.

6 Using recent technological advances, Yonatan Adler hopes in the near future to publish several slips that had previously been considered indecipherable.

- margins on both left and right,
- extensions of last letters on some lines as a way of filling out blank space,
- somewhat greater letter size,
- much greater intervals between lines, and
- thicker skin than used for *tefillin*.

The absence of these features in *tefillin* was likely dictated by the tiny size of the *tefillin* slips, and of the housings into which they fit. This size in turn may have been related to the need to wear them conveniently, particularly if they were worn throughout the day. *Mezuzot*, on the other hand, might have been larger; although as no *mezuzah* cases were identified one cannot be certain. Scribes may well have been unconcerned about the aesthetic features of *tefillin* slips, which anyway could not be read once placed in their housings that were sewn shut.

There was, in any event, no attempt by researchers to discriminate between the two artifacts based on differences between the scriptural passages observed. It bears mentioning that in the absence of rabbinic literature, one would likely have imagined any practice evolving from Deut 6:9 and 11:20 as associated with writing on doorposts and gates, rather than on leather slips that were placed on doorposts and gates. Additionally, the rabbinic record does not allow for Exodus verses in *mezuzot*, as contained by two of the Qumran *mezuzot*, so that viewing some of these slips as *mezuzot* entails not merely harmonization with later practice but selective harmonization at that. It therefore seems possible that the so-called *mezuzot* are merely large *tefillin*, worn in larger housings than those that were found. (Conversely, if Exodus verses were indeed considered suitable as *mezuzah* contents then some of the slips identified as *tefillin* might perhaps have been *mezuzot*.)

One set of slips, forming a wad, demonstrates the existence of a larger type of *tefillin* housing, although none of these were found.[7] Additionally, this set demonstrates that several slips might have been inserted into a single compartment, as a single wad of slips could hardly have been split up over several cells. In fact, many more such wads were traced to Cave 11;[8] they share many characteristics with *tefillin*—thin and brittle, folded parchment, traces of thread marks where skin had been wrapped, tiny script, and hardly any space between the lines—but are quite unlike other Qumran manuscripts. All Cave 11 wads were indecipherable.[9]

In the light of later rabbinic texts, the four-cell exemplars were identified as belonging to head *tefillin*, and the one-cell type as belonging to arm *tefillin*.[10]

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7 Barthélemy 1955.

8 11QUnidentified Wads, cf. García Martínez/Tigchelaar/van der Woude (eds.) 1998, 445–446.

9 See fn. 6. Adler is hoping to decipher the Cave 11 wads too.

10 This basis for classifying the objects was not always articulated by the publishers, but no better rationale for the identification is evident. In fact the original Hebrew title of Yadin's publication was "*Head-tefillin from Qumran*", and was changed for the English version.

Accordingly, the taxonomy rests entirely on the presumption of a conservative nature to *tefillin* practice. It is naturally impossible to know whether that presumption is valid, but the contained texts, when compared to the descriptions of rabbinic *tefillin*, may suggest otherwise.

Along related lines, it is also tempting to imagine that the one-cell and four-cell types represent the two distinct elements of a single practice. There is however, scant basis for presuming as much. Indeed, the different types may simply reflect alternative understandings of how the practice was to be observed, with individual practitioners wearing two housings of the same kind, or conceivably wearing only one. The variety of practice implied by the findings is anyway quite striking, and one can readily view it as having been rather haphazard.

Is a Proto-Halakhah of *Tefillin* and *Mezuzah* Exhibited at Qumran?

Few of the *tefillin* or *mezuzot*, if any, conformed to rabbinic *halakhah*, if only by virtue of textual differences—the best examples are those that included the Decalogue, which the rabbinic versions do not. Efforts have been made to argue, nevertheless, that they reflect a proto-*halakhah*, and to discount the textual diversity exhibited, and even in the absence of any such argument the idea of a proto-*halakhah* has simply been assumed by some scholars. Instead, I would suggest, material diversity needs to be given equal weight in determining the likelihood of a proto-*halakhah*. There follows a listing of diversity exhibited by material features of the findings, among which I include *mise-en-page*.

1. In eight of the twelve slips containing text from both Deuteronomy and Exodus, verses from the former book preceded any from the latter; this order is reversed in the case of the other four (the slips were essentially written in a single column, and here I am referring to their top-to-bottom order).
2. Vacats between individual text passages were used sometimes but not consistently.
3. There is some evidence of word separation, but in most of the *tefillin* exemplars words are not separated.
4. There is diversity with regard to interlinear additions, and to splitting up words at the end of lines.
5. In one instance (8QPhyl 1) two biblical pericopes were written in a kind of multicolumn format. Specifically, Deut 11:13–21 was written in the shape of a backwards "L". Each side of the "L" contained multiple lines of text, and Deut 6:4–9 was inscribed inside the space bounded by these two sides.
6. 4QPhyl J has an unusual layout, which will be discussed separately below as a significant anomaly for understanding the development of the practice.

7. Some slips were inscribed on both recto and verso, while others were not.
8. Some slips were written on the hair side of the skin, others on the inside.
9. 1QPhyl was found in a single wad, too large for any of the housings observed.
10. There were additions/omissions throughout the corpus of slips, and some will be discussed separately below as anomalies whose significance is particularly important for understanding the development of the practices.
11. In some of the multi-compartment *tefillin* housings the four compartments were fanned out, due to incisions between them, but in many others that was not the case.

The degree of diversity described above suggests that looking for a proto-*halakhah* is anachronistic. If indeed there were no fixed set of rules, then it seems that the slips and housings are to be viewed as representing popular practices.

Are the Qumran *Tefillin* and *Mezuzot* Sectarian?

The existence of distinct practices among Second Temple era sects is known from the writings of Josephus and others, and sectarian texts, most commonly identified with the Essenes, were found at Qumran. With all *tefillin* and *mezuzah* finds from the Second Temple period traced to Qumran, one thus needs to consider the possibility that these represent sectarian practice.

It is first to be noted that nothing in the Qumran community's literature suggests these rituals, much less their being specific to its members. Interestingly, Norman Golb has observed that Qumran sectarians, authors of the Manual of Discipline, are not good candidates for having understood the relevant verses literally, because they "evince the very opposite tendency to interpret the literal injunctions of the Pentateuch as metaphors".[11] In addition, it was argued above that these objects do not exhibit a proto-*halakhah* of any kind, so that the onus of proof seems to rest with those who have claimed—to the contrary—that they actually demonstrate sectarian difference with respect to correct practice.[12]

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11 Golb 1995, 103–104.
12 The first to attempt a classification along sectarian lines was Milik, who identified two types of Qumran *tefillin* and *mezuzot* (Milik 1977, 46–47). Those close to rabbinic practice in textual content, or at any rate not clearly deviating from it, he categorized as Pharisaic type. Others were branded as Essene type. Milik's labels rested on the idea that rabbinic practice was presumably Pharisaic in origin and that non-rabbinic Qumran exemplars were presumably Essene in origin. This position has been progressively undermined, with Nakman arguing that none of the *tefillin* were sectarian, and Yonatan Adler claiming that Milik's classification does not serve to discriminate between those that were sectarian and those that were not. See Nakman 2004; Adler 2007.

Emanuel Tov has produced a monumental work on scribal practices at Qumran, in which he isolated the scribal practices exhibited by the sectarian documents found there.[13] Inter alia he was thus able to argue that some of the Qumran *tefillin* and *mezuzot* were sectarian, while others were not. Since Tov's book, there has been considerable debate about these scribal practices. Adler—taking issue with other elements of Tov's argument—has whittled down the so-called Pharisaic *tefillin* slips, namely those that do not show sectarian scribal characteristics, to 4QPhyl D, E, F and 8QPhyl I—the only ones, in this conception, that are not to be considered unique to the sectarian Qumran community.[14] Even that position looks dubious, if only because the identification rests on readings that are at variance with those of their publishers—and there anyway seems to have been insufficient scribal practice data to make any determination regarding 4QPhyl D and E. In addition, Tov's work has been critiqued more generally in arguing for a Qumran scribal practice,[15] and he himself has modified some of his earlier views.[16] At this point there seems to be no good evidence for sectarian difference with respect to early *tefillin* and *mezuzah* practice.

Are the Qumran *Tefillin* and *Mezuzot* to be Viewed as Amulets?

I will begin this section with evidence that I consider important to the question, discussing how others have interpreted it, and will then provide my own analysis.

Ommissions and Layout

As mentioned above, in the discussion of diversity, there were differing layouts and omissions noted. Relevant anomalies here are the presence of certain particular omissions, and the unusual layout of one of the slips. In talking of omissions I am referring to those peculiar to the corpus of *mezuzot* and *tefillin* slips, when considered in relation to other important textual witnesses. While one can never be certain that an omission was intentional, a clustering of omissions around particular verses or notions is suggestive and warrants investigation. There is no attested *Urtext* to explain these omissions, and I view them as best considered alongside material features rather than literary ones.

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13 Tov 2004.
14 Adler 2007; for his disagreement with Tov 2004, see fn. 33 and 44.
15 See in particular Tigchelaar 2010.
16 Most recently with respect to *tefillin* in Tov 2017.

List of Omissions

–   4QPhyl A: within Deut 5:32 (starting after *ushemartem*) to the end of 6:1
–   4QPhyl B: within Deut 5:31 (starting after *telammedem*) to the end of 6:1
–   4QPhyl H: *ulema'an ya'arikhun yamekha* in Deut 6:2
–   4QPhyl J: within Deut 5:32 (starting after *lo*) to 6:2 (ending before *asher*)
–   8QPhyl II: *kol yeme hayyekha ulema'an ya'arikhun yamekha* in Deut 6:2, and *asher yitav lekha va'asher tirbun me'od* in Deut 6:3
–   8QPhyl IV: Deut 11:8 (replaced by *lema'an tihyu veyitbu yamim*)
–   4QMez C: within Deut 5:32 (starting after *tsivvah*) to Deut 5:33 (ending before *veha'arakhtem*)

All omissions in the above list cluster around verses related to length of days. In Deut 6:2, in 4QPhyl H and 8QPhyl II, the omitted words are shown in the list. In 8QPhyl IV, Deut 11:8 is omitted; it specifies fulfillment of all the commandments as a condition for entering and possessing the land as well as achieving length of days on it—according to the next verse, which is a parallel to Deut 11:21. The range of words for the other omissions, in 4QPhyl A, B, and J, and 4QMez C, all include a connection between precise or complete observance of the commandments, at Deut 5:32, 5:33, and 6:2; and length of days, at 5:33 and 6:2.

While Milik had suggested homeoteleuton as a possible cause for the omitted text, in the case of 4QPhyl B as well as 4QMez C, Alexander Rofé subsequently took issue with the possibility. The latter proceeded to provide an explanation for the lacunae in 4QPhyl A, B, and J, to the effect that they resulted from an otherwise unattested *Urtext*—while acknowledging that this did not fully explain the missing text in 4QPhyl J.[17] His basis for preferring this seemingly drastic suggestion to an intentional omission rested on a presumption as to the unlikelihood of the latter in a *tefillin* or *mezuzah* parchment. This was in turn based on the idea of a *halakhah* of correct practice, whose unlikelihood has already been discussed; indeed, there is positive evidence that some scribes were not concerned with textual fidelity, as exhibited by harmonization between the Deuteronomy and Exodus Decalogues, which may well have been due to scribes writing from memory.

A diametrically opposite suggestion has also been made, to the effect that text was abbreviated in Deut 5:32–6:2 because scribes found their content to be repetitive.[18] This seems implausible to me; *tefillin* and *mezuzah* scribes look to have sought out innerbiblical repetition rather than avoided it.

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17 Rofé 1985, 9–13.
18 Brooke 2003, 64–65.

Unusual Layout

A final piece of material evidence that calls for interpretation is the uniquely strange layout on the verso of 4QPhyl J.[19] The first verse in biblical sequence, Deut 5:24, starts in the middle of the parchment slip and is followed by vv. 5:25–28. Text from Deut 5:29–32 is upside down at the top of the slip and is accordingly out of sequence, and sandwiched in between it and Deut 5:24 is part of Deut 6:2 together with 6:3, which are written the right way up.

In K. G. Kuhn's initial publication of 4QPhyl J, which preceded DJD's by twenty years, the former attempted to explain its layout with the suggestion that the scribe twice inverted the parchment when running out of space. This implies that on two occasions the space required for the desired text was severely misgauged. I will now provide my own view of the phenomena highlighted in this section and the previous one.

I have argued elsewhere that the practices of *tefillin* and *mezuzah* both arose from a very literalist interpretation of Deuteronomy 11:18, 20 and 21.[20]

> *You are to place these my words upon your heart and upon your soul, and you shall tie them as a sign on your hand and they shall be as totafot between your eyes, [...] and you shall write them on the doorframes of your houses and within your gates,*
> *So that your days and the days of your children may be many in the land that YHWH swore to give your ancestors, as many as the days that the heavens are above the earth.*

My suggestion, in other words, is that *tefillin* and *mezuzah* were seen as bringing length of days to their practitioners, and would thus have served as protection against premature death, or—on a more positive note—as an amuletic prayer for length of days. I have left the word *totafot* untranslated because one cannot be at all sure of its meaning. The Septuagint does not seem familiar with the rare word, rendering it by the adjective "immovable"—or in some manuscripts "movable"—and it seems quite likely that its authors were quite unaware of the practices known to us. The literalism involved in interpreting the bible here to be referring to actual rituals, rather than metaphors of some kind, would be consonant with what we know about the Maccabean period, as would the invention of tradition entailed in developing such rituals. If so the Qumran *tefillin* and *mezuzot* are not merely the earliest evidence for the practice, but may in fact reflect the early history of its adoption.

Requirements for achieving length of days on the land, as detailed in Deut 5:32–6:2 and 11:8–9, included fulfillment of all that had been commanded (5:33; 6:2; and 11:8), and precise observance of the commandments (5:32). These prerequisites would, of course, have been far more onerous than the rather simple expedient of wearing an

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19 For a more general discussion of the Qumran *tefillin* opisthographs see Brooke 2011.
20 Cohn 2008, 87–99.

amulet or placing one outside one's home. If *tefillin* and *mezuzot* practices were supposed to achieve the same outcome—i. e. length of days on the land, as promised by Deut 11:21—then some scribes might have felt it best to omit the other verses on this subject so as to avoid highlighting to God—or perhaps to practitioners—the stringent obligations they included. Indeed, it is worth noting that other scribes avoided these problematic verses altogether, in beginning one of their Deuteronomy passages at 6:4, and the other at 11:13—just as rabbinic *mezuzot* and *tefillin* do.

In this context the upside-down writing of Deut 5:29–32 in 4QPhyl J is also particularly striking, for in 5:29 observance of all God's commandments (*kol mitsvotay*) is a precondition for eternal good befalling the people and their children, and 5:32 talks of unwavering adherence to God's command (*lo tasuru yamin usmol*). The right-side-up writing resumes in the second part of 6:2, with its mention of long life; the first part of that verse, which calls for observance of all the laws and commandments (*kol huqqotav umitsvotav*), is missing.

The sympathetic or "persuasively analogical" function of abnormal writing has been dated to a fourth century BCE Attic curse, which was written backwards—from right to left—with the explicit wish that this form of writing have a concomitant effect.[21] The upside-down writing in 4QPhyl J, as well indeed as the omissions that were discussed earlier, can thus be seen as representing a wish for inversion/omission of the relevant conditions for achieving long life—practitioners/scribes may have understandably preferred to view these conditions as limited to wearing the objects, or placing them on their doorposts. The amulet hypothesis can thus explain the omissions in the list above, as well as the strange layout of 4QPhyl J.

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21 "Just as these words are cold and backwards (lit. *eparistera*—written right to left), so too may the words of Krates be cold and backwards." See Faraone 1991, 6–10; Ogden 1999, 29–30. The expression "persuasively analogical" is owed to Tambiah 1973, 211–213.

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Reading an Opisthograph at Qumran

The opisthograph manuscripts from Qumran, scrolls written recto *and* verso, have already received some attention in the history of research. Scholars such as Wise,[1] Tov,[2] Brooke,[3] and most recently Falk[4] have proposed lists and in-depth studies of these texts. However, none of them really dwelt on the reading of this corpus in Qumran.[5] Is it possible to know how the reading of these particular manuscripts was "performed" at Qumran? Based on Falk's article, the most recent to date, we would like to propose a typology of the reading of opisthograph texts based on voluminological aspects.[6]

1 Defining an Opisthograph

The term "opisthograph" comes from the Greek word ὀπισθογράφος which means "written on the back". This term is generally used to refer to a parchment or papyrus written on the recto and verso.[7] In papyrology, the contours of this phenomenon are defined differently according to the researchers who apprehend it. For Turner, the "true" opisthographs are "simple sheets or rolls of papyrus, the content of which begin on the front, and then continue on the back".[8] More recently, Tiziano Dorandi has defined the opisthograph in a very different way: "In modern usage […], the term *opisthographos* is used only when a papyrus scroll or a fragment consisting of only one leaf had new text written on the *verso* shortly after the inscribing of the *recto*,

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1 Wise 1994.

2 Tov 1999; Tov 2004.

3 Brooke 2011.

4 Falk 2014.

5 See Falk 2014; Brooke 2011.

6 "Codicology" is misleading and anachronistic. We will use the term "voluminology" as Johnson 2004, 3.

7 "In papyri, the inscribed side, on which the fibers run horizontally, is named the recto; the verso, usually uninscribed, is the side on which the fibers run vertically. […] In documents written on leather (skin), the term recto represents the hairy, usually inscribed, side, while the verso indicates the uninscribed flesh side." Tov 2004, 64.

8 Turner 1978, 60.

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usually without bearing any relation to the latter."[9] According to the recent publications and papyrological databases, it seems that Turner's definition has won the approval of researchers.[10]

In fact, this lack of clarity in trying to define the opisthograph goes back to antiquity. When ancient authors such as Pliny,[11] Lucian[12] or Ulpian[13] refer to this phenomenon, it is very difficult to know what practice they are referring to.[14] Moreover, one can find this scribal practice described without the proper name ὀπισθογράφος being used. For example, in Ezekiel 2:10, the prophet receives a vision where he sees a scroll "written on the recto and verso—כְּתוּבָה פָּנִים וְאָחוֹר". The book of Revelation borrows this same imagery in 5:1, when the seer sees a scroll "written on the recto and verso (ἔσωθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν)".

This difficulty in defining the opisthograph is also shared by the Qumranic studies. While all agree that this is an extremely rare phenomenon in Qumran and that this corpus consists of relatively low-grade scribal work, everybody counts a different number of opisthographs.[15] Beyond the fact that it is sometimes difficult to know if certain tiny fragments belong to this or that scroll,[16] it is not clear whether *tefillin* or texts with titles on the verso should be considered opisthographs. Very recently, on the basis of the new images provided by the IAA, Daniel Falk suggested to count 13 to 18 opisthographs. He justifies his selection as follows:

> For the purposes of this study, I will not include the following cases of manuscripts inscribed on both sides. First, the writing of signatures or titles on the reverse, whose purpose is to be visible on the outside of the closed scroll, is not relevant to the present study. Second, a number of the *tefillin* found at Qumran are inscribed on both sides, but since these are not intended to be read as texts but are sealed up to be worn as amulets they represent a different phenomenon and will be treated separately as a special case. They will not be included in the statistics on opisthographs.[17]

This distinction seems very meaningful and coincides with the definition of opisthographs made by the ancient sources and the great majority of modern papyrologists. The tables prepared by Falk will therefore be largely used for this study.[18]

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9 Dorandi 2006.

10 Trismegistos; CEDOPAL.

11 Plinius Caecilius Secundus 1961, 108.

12 Lucianus 1992, 20.

13 Ulpianus 37,11,4.

14 On the opisthograph phenomenon in the classical period, see Manfredi 1983; Bastianini 1994.

15 Wise 1994, 133, counts 16 opisthographs; Tov 1999, 12, counts 14 opisthographs; Tov 2004, Appendix 3, 295–297 counts 21 opisthographs.

16 E. g. 1Q70, 4Q250 c,d; e,f.

17 Falk 2014, 46.

18 In these tables "h" signifies a flip to the horizontal, as one can turn a book page; "v" a reversal to the vertical, where the verso is upside-down *vis-à-vis* the recto; "p" a perpendicular flip at 90° degrees. The arrows → and ↓ indicate the orientation of the fibers of the papyrus.

2 The "True" Opisthograph: 4Q504 "Words of Luminaries[a]"

Considering Turner's definition, the only true opisthograph found at Qumran is 4Q504 *Words of the Luminaries[a]* dated to the middle of the 2nd century BCE. Interestingly, Falk has considered this manuscript as an opisthograph only since 2014. It consists of a single work starting at the recto of the parchment and ending on the verso. There is little doubt that this manuscript represents a personal copy. Indeed, it is relatively unkempt on several levels. First, it is obvious that it is the mismanagement of space by the scribe that resulted in this manuscript being an opisthograph. A survey of the size of the inter-columnar margins illustrates that the scribe gradually decreased the width of the margins. In all probability, he realized that he would not be able to write his whole text on this scroll. Thus, for lack of space, he decided to turn the manuscript horizontally to write the end of his text on only 3 cm. An experienced scribe would not have committed this mismanagement of space. The *ductus*, meanwhile, is very irregular. Also, the irregular alignment of the lines between two columns leaves the impression, once again, that the scribe was not experienced. Moreover, this manuscript contained at least six marginal signs. Some of them are corrections of errors[19] and others materialize new sections,[20] in what is certainly a very poor personal copy for liturgical use. On the textual plane, finally, Tov reports no less than 34 interventions from the scribe,[21] which makes this manuscript the fourth most corrected manuscript at Qumran.

I suggest considering 4Q504 as a starting point, the anchor point of our typology, which hopefully will illuminate the formatting of the other opisthographs. Being the only "true opisthograph" according to Turner's definition, it can serve as a reference scroll for several reasons. First, and in this case only, it is certain that this opisthograph—recto and verso—is the result of the work of only one scribe. The time separating the writing of the recto and verso is insignificant. It, thus, allows us to apprehend the *Sitz im Leben* of this composition. On a voluminological level, the scribe chose to continue his work from the recto to the verso by folding back the left margin of the

Tab. 1: The "true" opisthograph.

	Scroll	Support	Name of Text	Orient.	Script	Date
Recto	4Q504	Parchment	Words of the Luminaries[a]		Hasm. semi-formal	Mid 2nd c. BCE
Verso	Frag 2		End	h	Same hand	

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19 Col IV, l. 3; Col. V, l. 2; Col. VI, l. 2.
20 Col. VII, l. 4; Col. VII, l. 11.
21 Tov 2004, 170.

manuscript, like a book. Moreover, it is clear that this opisthograph scroll was intended to be read on a particular occasion, and that this arrangement was considered the best option for the scribe and the reader, after realizing the obvious lack of space. If the scribe had written the end of his text upside down *vis-à-vis* the recto, he would have been forced to roll up the scroll and return to the beginning of the composition. Moreover, the reader would have had to turn the scroll vertically to continue reading this text, an option that would have required more handling. Starting from the example of 4Q504, where the verso arranged horizontally with respect to the recto reveals the same *Sitz im Leben*, what can be said of the connection between the arrangement and the dating of the other opisthograph scrolls from Qumran?
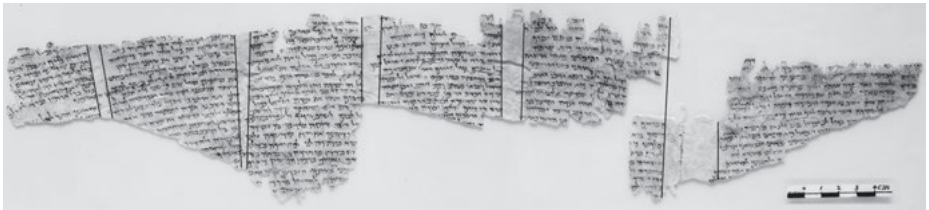
Fig. 1: The end of the recto of 4Q504. The black vertical lines were added to mark the inter-columnar margins. PAM M43.611 and PAM M43.612 merged.
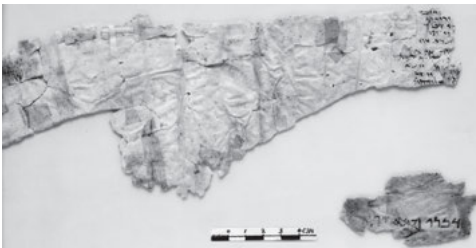
Fig. 2: The beginning of the verso of 4Q504. PAM M43.613.

3 Documentary Texts on the Verso of Literary Texts

The second category concerns manuscripts where a documentary text is written on the verso of a literary text. The first example of this category contains on the recto the beginning of the first copy of the book of *Enoch* in Aramaic (4Q201) and on the verso what Tov considers as a possible genealogical list (4Q338). The title given by Tov, however, seems somewhat ambitious since one can read nothing more than two mentions of the verb הוליד and some traces of letters on 4Q338.[22] Nevertheless, it is certain that the writing on the verso is of a different and later hand, a century later according to Falk.[23]

The next two scrolls are cases of re-use of literary or para-literary texts for the writing of accounts: on the verso of *Mishmarot C* (4Q324), an account in Hebrew or Aramaic (4Q355), and on the verso of fragment 9 of *Narrative Work and Prayer*, an account in Greek. While the Semitic account of the verso of the first parchment is not dated—but certainly later than its recto—the Greek account on the verso of the second parchment was written about two centuries later, probably by the Romans.[24]

One should note that all the documentary texts on the verso of literary texts are arranged upside-down *vis-à-vis* the recto. All are cases of re-use of parchments and the two compositions were certainly not intended to be read together. The text on the verso is always written by a different—and much later—hand than that of the recto.

Tab. 2: Documentary Opisthographs on the Verso of Literary Texts.

	Scroll	Support	Name of Text	Orient.	Script	Date
Recto	4Q201	Parchment	Enochᵃ ar. col. I–III		Hasm. semi-formal	200–150 BCE
Verso	4Q338		Genealogical List	v		ca. 1c. later
Recto	4Q324	Parchment	Mishmarot C		Late Hasm. or early Herod. bookhand	50–25 BCE
Verso	4Q355		Account C ar. or heb.	v	Cursive	Not dated
Recto	4Q460 9	Parchment	Narrative Work and Prayer		Late Hasm. or early Herod. semi-formal	75–1 BCE
Verso	4Q350		Account gr.	v		Late 1st c. CE ?

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22 Tov 2000, 290.
23 Falk 2014, 49.
24 Yardeni expressed serious doubts about the origin of the manuscripts from 4Q342 to 4Q360, see Cotton/Yardeni 1997, 283–317.

With the exception of 4Q338,[25] which is too fragmentary to say anything, it is certain that the use of the verso has supplanted that of the recto. Somehow, this arrangement constitutes the extreme opposite of the example of 4Q504, the "true opisthograph". Having considered these two cases at the opposite extremes, I suggest turning to the other opisthograph rolls, beginning with those with a horizontal reversal.

4 Horizontal Orientation in Literary Opisthographs

In addition to 4Q504, there are two papyrus rolls where the verso is arranged horizontally to the recto. The first scroll has on the recto *Daily Prayers* (4Q503) and on the verso *Ritual of Purification B* (4Q512). According to Baillet, the hands of these two compositions are contemporary and date from the first quarter of the first century BCE (100–75 BCE).[26] While Baillet argued that the two compositions were written by different scribes, others defend that this is not necessarily so. Falk highlights the similarities between the two manuscripts: "They also share similar scribal features. Neither is ruled, and they have uneven letter size, line spacing, column width, and left margin. They show a similar full orthography, and both make similar use of the hook-style paragraphos marker."[27] Although uneven, the ductus of both sides of this manuscript is very similar. The few differences could be explained by the impact of

Tab. 3: Horizontal Orientation in Literary Opisthographs.

	Scroll	Support	Name of Text	Orient.	Script	Date
Recto	4Q504	Parchment	Words of the Luminaries[a]		Hasm. semi-formal	Mid-2nd c. BCE
Verso	Frag 2		End	h	Same hand	
	Frag 8		Title	p	Different hand	
Recto →	4Q503	Papyrus	Daily Prayers		Hasm. semi-formal	100–75 BCE
Verso ↓	4Q512		Ritual of Purification B	h	Hasm. semi-formal	100–75 BCE
Recto →	4Q499	Papyrus	Hymns/Prayers		Hasm. semi-formal	ca. 75 BCE
Verso ↓	4Q497		War Scroll-like Text A	h	Hasm. semi-formal (different hand?)	ca. 50 BCE

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25 Tov 2000, 290 suggests that the Genealogical List on the verso is possibly linked to the patriarch Enoch on the recto.
26 Baillet 1982, 119, 262.
27 Falk 2014, 52.

fiber orientation, especially in the vertical side, on the ductus of the scribe. Be that as it may, it should be emphasized that the two texts are contemporaneous and arranged horizontally one from the other. Rituals of purification and prayers are often associated in Qumran.[28] Moreover, on the content level, it is very likely that these two compositions, which certainly constitute a personal copy, were read together.[29]

The second scroll with a horizontal arrangement contains on the recto *Hymns/ Prayers* (4Q499) and on the verso probably a copy of the *War Scroll* (4Q497). While the first composition is dated around 75 BCE, the second is dated just 25 years later (50 BCE). In fact, in Qumranic paleography, nothing can justify such a precise gap of 25 years. Regarding 4Q497, Falk added the commentary "different hand?" in his table. Despite the fragmentary nature of this scroll, it is possible, once again, to consider that it is the same hand that wrote the texts on the recto and on the verso. On the voluminological level, Brooke notices that "the writing on the back is in the same position as on the front".[30] While this is true for some fragments, many others seem to contradict this observation. However, this is always true for a scroll that we will consider later (see 4Q415/4Q414, p. 109).

In summary, the opisthographs where the verso is arranged horizontally with respect to the recto are probably the product of the same hand. When there is any doubt about the origin of the hand, less than one generation separates the two sides of the roll. Thus, the two compositions have the same *Sitz im Leben* and the two sides of a scroll were possibly read either directly after the other or with connection to the other, for instance on the same liturgical occasion. In order to verify these hypotheses, it is necessary to study the manuscripts in which recto and verso are arranged vertically.

5 Vertical Orientation in Literary Opisthographs

The oldest manuscript arranged vertically is 4Q255 (*Serekh ha-Yahad^a*), a text inscribed on the verso of a scroll of papyrus, where the fibers are vertical ↓, thus constituting the verso of 4Q433a (*Hodayot-like Text B*). While scholars do not agree on which of these two texts is the "recto",[31] it is certain that the two texts are paleographically distant of about fifty years and they are not of the same hand. Very different

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28 Falk 2014, 56.

29 4Q503 shares common structure and linguistic features with 4Q512, see Falk 1998, 23.

30 Brooke 2011, 131.

31 In the very precise case of 4Q255, the editors consider that it forms the verso of 4Q333a, in accordance with the vertical orientation of the fibers of the manuscript (see Alexander/Vermes 1998, 28). On the basis of paleographic considerations, Milik proposed that 4Q255 is the recto (see Milik 1988). As Schuller 1999 more recently underlined, "in accordance with the view of many papyrologists that the vertical or horizontal direction of the fibres has little to do with which side was written first, this terminology has been avoided in our discussion".

Tab. 4: Vertical Orientation in Literary Opisthographs.

	Scroll	Support	Name of Text	Orient.	Script	Date
Verso ↓	4Q255	Papyrus	Serekh ha-Yahad[a]		Early Hasm. Cursive	125–120 BCE
Recto →	4Q433a		Hodayot-like Text B	v	Hasm. semi-formal	ca. 75 BCE
Recto →	4Q509	Papyrus	Festival Prayers		Late Hasm. semi-formal	ca. 70–60 BCE
	(4Q505)	Papyrus	(Words of the Luminaries[b]?)		Late Hasm. semi-formal	ca. 70–60 BCE
Verso ↓	4Q496		Milhamah[f]	v	Late Hasm. semi-formal	After 50 BCE
	4Q506		Words of the Luminaries[c]		Late Herod. semi-formal	Mid-1st c. CE
Recto	4Q415	Parchment	Instruction[a]		Early Herod. formal	30–1 BCE
Verso	4Q414		Ritual of Purification A	v	(Late) Herod. and different hand (thick lines)	30 BCE–68 CE

in nature and separated by two generations, "the compositions on both sides are associated with the Maskil, the authoritative instructor and liturgical master of the community".[32]

The second scroll with a vertical arrangement is what papyrologists consider to be a composite roll. Baillet[33] and more recently Chazon[34] believe that the side with the horizontal fibers contains two separate works written by the same hand: 4Q509 (*Festival Prayers*) and 4Q505 (*Words of Luminaries*[b]). Others, such as García Martínez,[35] Falk[36] and Lange/Tigchelaar[37] believe that this face actually contains only one composition, the *Festival Prayers* of 4Q509. Whether the recto of this papyrus is composite or not, there is no doubt that the verso is. 4Q496 (*Milhamah*[f]) was added shortly after the work(s) of the recto on the verso. On the same face, almost a century later, 4Q506 was written in the middle of the first century CE by a different hand. Although 4Q496

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32 Falk 2014, 55.
33 Baillet 1982, 184.
34 Chazon 2012.
35 García Martínez 1984.
36 Falk 1998.
37 Tigchelaar 2002, 315.

was written shortly after 4Q509 (+ 4Q505), the composite nature of this manuscript makes it less likely that it would have been read continuously. Nevertheless, this manuscript was certainly a collection of liturgical texts.

4Q415 (*Instruction^a*) and 4Q414 (*Ritual of Purification A*) are written on the two sides of an opisthograph parchment scroll. While the dating of the hand of 4Q415 is relatively accurate (30–1 BCE), that of the verso is looser and could extend over almost a century (30 BCE–68 CE). Falk considers the hand of 4Q415 as "early formal Herodian" and, distinguishing possibly later features, the hand of 4Q414 as "(late) Herodian".[38] Whether the hands of these two compositions are contemporary (around 30 BCE) or not, two manifestly different hands have written this text. The first hand, on the recto, is careful unlike the second one on the verso. Moreover, we notice more than a simple arrangement to the vertical since the scribe of 4Q414 has made all the margins of its composition correspond to that of 4Q415, like a *codex*.[39] This unique scribal feature is peculiar to this scroll and has not been pointed out so far. This careful layout of the verso attempting to match the recto perhaps indicates that the verso scribe was still valuing and therefore read the text of the recto.

Unlike manuscripts with both sides arranged horizontally, the two faces of vertically arranged manuscripts are certainly not of the same hand, and usually, are several decades apart. In the case of 4Q509/4Q505?/4Q509/4Q509 and 4Q496/4Q506, the composite nature of the scroll would explain its vertical arrangement. For all these cases, it is very unlikely that the texts of the two sides were read side by side or continuously in a joint *Sitz im Leben*. However, contrary to the opisthograph documentary texts, these manuscripts are not simple cases of re-use but more likely private collections or ἐκλογή. In all these examples, the reading of the recto was not *de facto* rejected by the adding of the verso. The second scribe had certainly thought it useful to associate his text with that of the recto for liturgical reasons.

In order to test the typology of reading presented so far, we must also examine the unidentified opisthograph papyri.

6 Unidentified Opisthograph Papyri

With the exception of a few isolated studies on Qumran papyri or opisthographs, the work on 1Q70/1Q70a has poorly evolved since Milik's original *editio princeps* in DJD 1.[40] Milik already recognized that the two groups contained on the recto a literary or calligraphic writing, and on the verso a more cursive handwriting.[41] The

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38 Falk 2014, 49.
39 See fragments 1i + 2ii, 1ii, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10i + ii, 11, 21, 27 and 29.
40 Barthélemy/Milik 1955, 149.
41 Barthélemy/Milik 1955, 149.

Tab. 5: Unidentified Opisthograph Papyri.

	Scroll	Name of Text	Orient.	Script	Date
Recto →	1Q70 1-10	Unknown		Calligraphic	Not dated
Verso ↓	1Q70 1-10	Unknown (different hand/work)	v	Cursive	Not dated
Recto →	4Q250 c,d	Cryptic, unidentified text, Text I, K		Cryptic A semi-formal	2nd c. BCE
Verso ↓	4Q250 e,f	Cryptic, unidentified text, Text J, L	h	Same hand?	2nd c. BCE
Recto →	4Q518 1-20	Unclassified		2+ different hands	Not dated
Verso ↓	4Q519	Unclassified	h	Different hand	Not dated
Recto →	4Q518 21-62	Unclassified		3+ different hands	Not dated
Verso ↓	4Q519	Unclassified	v	Different hand	Not dated
Recto →	4Q518 63-68	Unclassified		Indeterminate	Not dated
Verso ↓	4Q519	Unclassified	p	Indeterminate	Not dated

distinction of two very different hands argues in favor of two separate works for the recto and verso of 1Q70. However, one can note that this papyrus is precisely arranged vertically.

With regard to the small cryptic opisthograph fragments of 4Q250 c,d and 4Q250 e,f published by Pfann,[42] it is very likely that these four fragments actually belong to one and the same scroll. Based on a paleographical examination of the ten letters attested, Pfann qualifies the entire writing of 4Q250 as a "semi-formal hand with some semi-cursive traits; second century BCE".[43] In two other examples, the fragments published by Pfann as belonging to different manuscripts were afterwards considered as one and only. First, Ben-Dov, Stökl Ben Ezra, and Gayer have shown that what Pfann considered to be additional fragments of 4Q249a are actually fragments of the same copy of 4Q249a (*pap cryptA Serekh haEdah*).[44] Second, Ratzon and Ben-Dov[45] demonstrated that the presumed six different copies of a calendrical scroll in cryptic

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42 Pfann 2000a.
43 Pfann 2000a, 684.
44 Ben-Dov/Stökl Ben Ezra/Gayer 2017.
45 Ratzon/Ben Dov 2017.

script (4Q324d-i), according to Pfann's edition in DJD XXVIII,[46] actually belong to the same scroll now called 4Q324d. There is therefore every reason to believe that 4Q250 c,d and 4Q250 e,f is a single scroll in cryptic script. One can note that this manuscript is arranged horizontally, so that it could be the work of the same hand, as other opisthographs arranged in this manner.

4Q518/4Q519 gathers fragments of an unidentified papyrus with writing on both sides and whose verso is arranged either horizontally (frags 1–20), vertically (frags 21–62), or even perpendicularly (frags 63–68). The few dozen small fragments arranged horizontally certainly belong to one or more known rolls with this particular arrangement, and the same is true for the vertical ones. By their arrangement, their grouping under 4Q518/4Q519 is not justified, insofar as they cannot belong all to the same roll. The arrangement between the recto and the verso of each of the 4Q518/4Q519 fragments is a criterion which will have to be considered in the future for their association with a known text. The last group of six fragments contains only a few (traces of) letters. For fragment 66, Baillet noted "large letters, which are supposedly partly destroyed. Fragment of a title?".[47] Baillet's assumption was certainly correct since most of the titles in Qumran are written perpendicularly *vis-à-vis* the recto.

7 4Q343/4Q343 and the Perpendicular Orientation of the Verso

Before concluding, a last type of arrangement, consisting in writing the verso perpendicularly in relation to the recto, needs to be considered. By choosing this type of layout, the space available for writing is obviously smaller than when flipping the papyrus horizontally or vertically. This explains why, with the exception of many *tefillin*,[48] this system is used almost only for titles in Qumran. There is no literary text arranged perpendicularly in Qumran, with the exception of 4Q343/4Q343. The *Nabataean Letter* of 4Q343, which continues perpendicularly to the verso, could contradict the typology deployed so far. However, as noted by Eshel, the Qumranian origin of this manuscript is now more than doubtful.[49] By the swing of the pendulum, the typology of opisthograph manuscripts of Qumran supports Eshel's assumption. Thus, there is no opisthograph manuscript that continues on the verso at the perpendicular. The inscriptions at the perpendicular were not intended to be read in connection with the text of the recto but only by the librarian of the manuscript.

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46 Pfann 2000b.

47 Our english translation of Baillet 1982, 309.

48 4QPhyl A, B, G, H, I, J, K, M, O, P, Q, R, U et XQPhyl 4.

49 Eshel 2001.

8 Concluding Remarks

To summarize, I would like to recall the elements of the typology deployed so far. Opisthograph manuscripts arranged horizontally, like a book, have certainly been written by the same hand and/or written in the same period for a liturgical occasion. They therefore most likely have the same *Sitz im Leben*. The vertical manuscripts are divided into two groups: cases of re-use and collation. They have two *Sitze im Leben* or even more. For literary texts, the addition of a text on the back does not necessarily mean that the text on the front was no longer considered "but more likely [that] the owner added another text on the reverse of a scroll he owned and still valued".[50] On the other hand, it is unlikely that these recto and verso texts were read continuously. In short, the more a manuscript must be manipulated to read both sides, the less likely it is that both sides are read continuously. At Qumran already, all continuous reading was done according to what will later become the *codex*.[51]

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50 Falk 2014, 55.
51 Brooke 2011, 17–18.

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Fig. 1, 2: The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority.

Andrea Jördens
Codices des Typs C
und die Anfänge des Blätterns

Die Frage der Entstehung der Codexform und ihrer Verbreitung gehört zweifellos zu den am lebhaftesten diskutierten Kontroversen in den Wissenschaften, die sich mit der kaiserzeitlichen Buchkultur, aber mehr noch dem frühen Christentum befassen. Denn die erfolgreiche Durchsetzung gegenüber dem in der gesamten klassischen Antike vorherrschenden Buchformat, das bei dem ebenfalls vorherrschenden Beschreibstoff, den ägyptischen Papyri, seit ältesten Zeiten bekanntlich die Querrolle war, schien engstens mit dem Aufstieg dieser Glaubensrichtung verknüpft, da gerade ihre Angehörigen ihm allem Anschein nach den Vorzug gaben. Über die Gründe dafür wurde seit jeher trefflich spekuliert, mehr noch als über die Frage, ob dieser Eindruck eigentlich das Richtige trifft. Bei alldem geriet indessen allzu leicht aus dem Blick, was wir uns überhaupt unter diesen frühesten Codices vorzustellen haben, die sicherlich die Keimzelle unseres heutigen Buchformats sind und dennoch bis dahin eine Reihe von Entwicklungsstufen durchliefen. Diesen kodikologischen Fragen gilt im Folgenden besondere Aufmerksamkeit, zumal dadurch möglicherweise auch neues Licht auf die lange umstrittene Frage fällt, in welchen Kontexten wir die Entstehung dieser revolutionären Buchform zu verorten haben.

Revolutionär deswegen, weil in der Handhabung des Artefakts beim Lesen – dort dem für den antiken Nutzer so vertrauten Rollen, hier jetzt dem völlig anders gearteten Blättern – zwischen beiden Medien eine für jedermann unmittelbar fassbare, grundlegende Differenz besteht.[1] Diese Abkehr von allem Gewohnten, was bis dahin für jeden Gebildeten mit dem Begriff des Buches verbunden war, trug zweifellos wesentlich dazu bei, den Ablösungsprozess weitaus zäher als vielfach vermeint zu gestalten. Denn keineswegs trat der Codex, kaum dass er aufgekommen war, gleich einen unaufhaltsamen Siegeszug durch die abendländische Buchkultur an; vielmehr blieb lange Zeit offen, welches der beiden Formate die Oberhand gewinnen würde.

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1 Zu den unterschiedlichen Praktiken zuletzt Giele/Peltzer/Trede 2015.

Erst nach Jahrhunderten vermochte sich der Codex in nahezu allen Bereichen durchzusetzen und schließlich als alleiniges Format zu etablieren, so dass er heute, von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen, schlechterdings als Inbegriff des Buches gelten kann. Nicht zuletzt den ganz elementaren Fragen der Handhabung wird man demnach Bedeutung zumessen wollen, wesentlich mehr jedenfalls, als es in den bisher geführten Debatten üblich war. Dafür ist zunächst jedoch zu klären, was zu den damaligen Bedingungen unter einem Codex zu verstehen ist, bevor die Eigenheiten und vor allem mutmaßlichen Vorzüge dieses neuartigen Mediums gegenüber dem traditionellen Rollenformat zu würdigen sind.

Der Begriff selbst verweist zunächst auf scheinbar anderes, nämlich, wie auch noch Seneca wusste, den Baumstamm bzw. Holzklotz, aus dem die nachmals zur Aufnahme von Schrift genutzten Holz- oder Wachstafeln geschnitten wurden, und näherhin die daraus gefertigten Tafelensembles.[2] Dass dies weitaus mehr als eine antiquarische Überlieferung ist, bezeugt der zur Zersägung vorbereitete, inzwischen vielfach abgebildete Holzblock aus der Oasenstadt Kellis noch im IV. Jhdt. n. Chr. in aller wünschenswerten Deutlichkeit.[3] Wachstafeln aus Holz oder auch Elfenbein waren durchaus schon im Alten Orient gebräuchlich und auch dem griechischen Osten bestens bekannt,[4] doch scheint sich dort nie ein vergleichbarer Sammelbegriff ausgebildet zu haben. Die heute so vertraute Bezeichnung als Polyptychon wird man jedenfalls kaum als allgemein gängig ansehen dürfen, findet sie sich doch nur bei dem hochkaiserzeitlichen Grammatiker Pollux, der sie als nachklassischen und offenbar seltenen Ausdruck für umfangreichere Tafelensembles anführt.[5]

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2 So bes. Sen., Dial. X 13, 4 als Kommentar zum Cognomen des Konsuls von 264 v. Chr. Claudius Caudex *quia plurium tabularum contextus caudex apud antiquos vocatur, unde publicae tabulae codices dicuntur* ‚weil ein Gefüge mehrerer Bretter bei den Alten *caudex* (d. i. Baumstamm) genannt ward, woher denn die öffentlichen Gesetzestafeln *codices* heißen' (Übers. O. Apelt); vgl. auch den entsprechenden Verweis in ThLL III 628, 3 s. v. *caudex* sowie zu Etymologie und zeitgenössischem Sprachgebrauch die zahlreichen in ThLL III 1403, 23–1407, 26 s. v. *codex* aufgeführten Belege; allgem. auch Wenger 1953, 75 und bes. Anm. 10; Roberts/Skeat 1983, 11f.; Marichal 1992, 176f.; van Haelst 1989, 15ff.; Sharpe 1996, 111f.; Degni 1998, 37f.; Ammirati 2013, 12; zu den *publicae tabulae*, die weitaus mehr umgriffen als nur Gesetzestafeln, bes. Meyer 2004, 24ff.
3 Vgl. etwa Sharpe 1992, 135 mit 147f. fig. 35–38; Sharpe 1996, 123f. mit 125f. fig. 22f.; Whitehorne 1996, 241f. mit fig. 1; Tegtmeier 2016, 68 fig. 35.
4 Vgl. zuletzt Jördens/Ott/Ast/Tsouparopoulou 2015; knapp etwa auch schon Roberts/Skeat 1983, 11; unrichtig insoweit Ibscher 1920, 33 „griechischen Ursprungs ist jedoch die Wachstafel", vgl. auch 34; Cribiore 1996, 66 „waxed tablets originally came from Greece".
5 So Poll., IV 18 (= Degni 1998, 86 T 74) in dem Kapitel Περὶ γραμματικοῦ, das sich mit dem Schrift- und Buchwesen befasst: οἱ δὲ Ἀττικοὶ [...] θύρας τὰς πτύχας, ἄχρι δύο. εἶτα, πτύχας, καὶ τρίπτυχον, καὶ πολύπτυχον, ‚die Attiker aber (nannten) die Tafeln „Türflügel", bis zu zweien. Danach (nannte man sie) „Tafeln", und (entsprechend) „Triptychon" bzw. „Polyptychon"'; vgl. etwa auch Roberts/Skeat 1983, 12 und bes. Anm. 1. Das Wort begegnet sonst – allerdings in adjektivischer Verwendung – nur noch bei (Ps.-)Luc., Am. 44 (= Degni 1998, 123 T 281), der πολύπτυχοι δέλτοι als Charakteristikum des Schulbetriebs beschreibt; wohl auch daher nur knapp Atsalos 1971, 101 Anm. 2.

In Rom hatte der Begriff des Codex, wenn man Seneca trauen darf, ursprünglich im öffentlichen Bereich seinen Ort, so zumal bei den vorzugsweise für Aufstellungen aller Art eingesetzten Ensembles größeren Formats.[6] Von hier aus wurde er zunehmend auf alle der Aufnahme von Schrift dienenden Konstrukte übertragen, die aus einzelnen Blättern bestanden, und zwar unabhängig vom Material. Denn starre Holztafeln und biegsamere Beschreibstoffe wie Papyrus oder Pergament unterscheiden sich sicherlich in Dicke und Flexibilität.[7] In der Handhabung bleiben sich die daraus gefertigten Ensembles jedoch grundsätzlich gleich, da sie anders als die traditionellen früheren Bücher im Rollenformat nicht mehr auf- und zuzurollen, sondern durchweg hin- und herzuwenden waren. Für diese demnach zu blätternden Artefakte sollte der lateinische Terminus im Laufe der Zeit typisch werden und es für mittelalterliche Handschriften bis heute bleiben. Als Reminiszenz an seine Herkunft aus dem öffentlichen Bereich mag man die hiervon abgeleitete Bezeichnung für Gesetzessammlungen betrachten, die schließlich sogar die Griechen übernahmen – in diesem Fall wie bei uns heute bemerkenswerterweise ohne jeden Blick auf das Format.[8]

Nur folgerichtig entspricht es allgemeiner Überzeugung, dass das Buchformat des Codex aus den hölzernen Polyptycha hervorging und gleichsam der ‚große Bruder‘ der bei frühkaiserzeitlichen Autoren erwähnten *pugillares membranei* war, also

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6 Vgl. den schon in Anm. 2 zitierten Passus aus Sen., Dial. X 13, 4, aber etwa auch die von Asconius in seinem Kommentar zu Ciceros *pro Milone* berichtete Verbrennung der Senatsakten bei der tumultartigen Trauerfeier für den ermordeten P. Clodius Pulcher im Jahr 52 v. Chr.: *populus duce Sex. Cloelio scriba corpus P. Clodi in curiam intulit cremavitque subselliis et tribunalibus et mensis et codicibus librariorum; quo igne et ipsa quoque curia flagravit* ‚das Volk brachte, angeführt vom Schreiber Sex. Cloelius, den Leichnam des P. Clodius in die Curia und verbrannte ihn mit Hilfe der Bänke, Amtsstühle, Tische und Aktenbände; durch dieses Feuer ging auch die Curia selbst in Flammen auf‘ (Asc., Mil. 33, 5–15; = Degni 1998, 100 T 146), vgl. bereits Lewis 1974, 49 ff. Nr. 4; Roberts/Skeat 1983, 13 und Anm. 4 m. w. L.; Sharpe 1992, 130 f.; Damon 1992, 232 f. sowie 248 Test. 19. Illustrativ sind insoweit auch die eindrucksvollen Reliefs mit der von Kaiser Hadrian nach CIL VI 967 = ILS I 309 (118; = TM#272337) sowie SHA, Hadr. 7, 6 angeordneten Verbrennung der Tafeln, auf denen die Schuldtitel gegenüber dem Fiskus aufgezeichnet waren; vgl. Chatsworth, inv. A 59 (nach 118) mit Boschung/von Hesberg/Linfert 1997, 77 ff. Nr. 76 und Taf. 68 ff. sowie Platte II der sog. *Anaglypha Traiani* oder doch besser *Hadriani*; hierzu zuletzt überzeugend Plattner 1998. Zu Bücherverbrennungen in Rom allgem. auch Howley 2017, bes. 219 f. zum „Burning of Documentary Written Material by the State and its Agents", allerdings ohne den zitierten Beleg aus Asconius; vgl. jetzt auch den Sammelband von Kühne-Wespi/Oschema/Quack 2019 zum kulturübergreifenden Phänomen der intentionalen Zerstörung von Geschriebenem, hier bes. Declercq 2019 zu den verschiedenen Varianten der „Public Destruction of Books and Documents" (so der Untertitel) für das europäische Mittelalter, wobei der vorliegende Fall der als erste Kategorie aufgeführten „physical destruction of the object, thus affecting both the text and the material it was written on" (123) zuzuordnen wäre.
7 Im Fall des Pergaments allerdings nur bedingt; denn wie schon Ibscher 1920, 34 bemerkt, bot „in technischer Hinsicht die Herstellung der Pergamentrollen weiter keine Schwierigkeiten", doch „eignete sich das Pergament wegen seiner Sprödigkeit bei weitem nicht so gut für diesen Zweck, wie der geschmeidige Papyrus".
8 Vgl. nur Atsalos 1971, 143 f.; zuletzt Meyer 2007, 303 f. Anm. 43; allgem. auch Ammirati 2013, 14 f.

Pergamentbänden, unter denen sich wohl in erster Linie Taschenformate verbargen.[9] Von diesen vor allem für literarische Werke verwendeten Kleinformaten ist in der Folge jedoch nichts mehr zu hören, was auf eine bloße Modeerscheinung deuten mag, dem keine Dauer beschieden war.[10] Langfristig sollte sich jedenfalls der Codex als die weitaus glücklichere Variante erweisen.

Diese allgemein akzeptierte Rekonstruktion der Genese wurde jetzt allerdings von J. A. Szirmai in seinem Standardwerk zu den mittelalterlichen Buchbindetechniken kurzerhand zu reiner Spekulation, wenn nicht gar für geradezu abwegig erklärt.[11] Denn „the crude methods of connecting the rigid elements of a set of tablets (using hinges, metal rings or lacings) have nothing in common with the structures employed to join leaves of a codex".[12] Codices und Polyptycha seien folglich strikt voneinander getrennt zu halten, die Differenzen ebenso grundlegend wie unüberbrückbar. Dies gelte selbst im Fall von Tafelensembles, die mit Fäden oder Schnüren zusammengehalten würden. Denn für eine regelrechte Heftung fehle hier jegliche archäologische Evidenz,[13] weswegen die Wiege des Codex und damit unserer heute

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9 So bes. die Titel in Mart. XIV, bes. 7 und 184 (= Degni 1998, 126 T 298 bzw. 300); vgl. auch CGlL V 511, 57 mit Placidus, Liber Glossarum s. v. *Pugillares*. Hierzu allgem. Widmann 1967, 595ff.; Bowman/Thomas 1983, 42f.; Roberts/Skeat 1983, 12. 24ff.; Marichal 1990, 48f. 54; Marichal 1992, 175; Whitehorne 1996, 243f.; zuletzt eingehend Jördens (im Druck). Nur hingewiesen sei auf die lebhafte Diskussion der Rolle der Wachstäfelchen im Prozess der literarischen Produktion, und zwar nicht erst mit dem – insoweit nochmals weiter ausgreifenden – Buch von Small 1997, wo sie sogar prominent im Titel figurieren; vgl. stellvertretend für andere nur Dorandi 2007, bes. 22ff.

10 So bes. Roberts/Skeat 1983, 27f., zu der hieran anschließenden Diskussion bes. Meyer 2007, 302 mit Anm. 38; weniger skeptisch zuletzt allerdings wieder Ammirati 2013, bes. 13.

11 Vgl. hierzu wie zum folgenden die knappen, aber mit großer Verve vorgetragenen Bemerkungen von Szirmai 1999, bes. 3f., der freilich den Codex ausschließlich von der Buchbindung her begreift und seine überdeterminierte Definition des Codex als eines gehefteten, idealerweise zwischen zwei Deckel gefassten Buchblocks als Prämisse setzt.

12 Szirmai 1999, 3, mit der Folgerung „The derivation of the codex from the writing tablet is a surmise *e silentio*: for too long its validity has been taken for granted without the exact nature of the relationship" (3f.).

13 So nach dem – hier als Hauptargument eingesetzten – Verdikt von Szirmai 1999, bes. 4, wonach eine irrige Meinung ohne archäologische Beweise und nur durch stetige Wiederholung noch lange nicht richtiger werde. Insofern überrascht freilich umso mehr, dass er in Szirmai 1990 mit Verweis auf van Regemorter 1958 eine solche Art der Bindung weit mehr als ein Jahrtausend vor den frühesten sicheren Bezeugungen bereits auf neuhethitischen Reliefs, so bes. der sog. Stele des Tarhunpiya (Paris, Louvre AO 19222; Ende VIII. Jhdt. v. Chr.) erkennen zu können meint. Dabei dürfte es sich jedoch erneut um durch Scharniere verbundene Holztafeln handeln, vgl. außer den knappen Bemerkungen von Sirat 1989 bes. die breiten Scharniere an dem – allerdings deutlich früheren, da in das späte XIV. Jhdt. v. Chr. gesetzten – Diptychon aus dem Wrack von Ulu Burun mit Payton 1991 oder auch den Überblick von André-Salvini 1992, bes. 24f. 33 fig. 15 mit der Darstellung eines vergleichbaren Artefakts auf dem – auch bei Sirat 1989, 39 abgebildeten – Relief des Königs Barrakib aus Zincirli (Berlin, SMPK VA 2817; um 730 v. Chr.) sowie 31 fig. 11 einem perserzeitlichen Diptychon aus Ägypten (Paris, Louvre AO 17204), das die von außen sichtbaren hölzernen Scharniere mit besonderer Deutlichkeit zu erkennen gibt. Nicht zuletzt deutet hierauf das spitze und mit einer Spatula am hinteren Ende

gebräuchlichen Buchform vielmehr erst in der christlichen, näherhin koptischen Kirche zu entdecken sei.[14]

Ähnlich wie Szirmai hatte auch Elizabeth A. Meyer Anstoß an der grundsätzlich mehr behaupteten als bewiesenen Ableitung des Codex aus den hölzernen Polyptycha genommen und sich erstmals intensiver mit den Details dieses Transfers auseinandergesetzt.[15] Meyer zufolge ließen sich die Holz- und Wachstafelensembles in insgesamt drei Kategorien einteilen, nämlich Schultafeln (‚schooltablets‘), Rechnungsbücher (‚account-tablets‘) und Dokumente des römischen Rechts (‚Roman legal documents‘), wobei das Vorbild des Codex in den letzteren zu sehen und seine Entstehung noch präziser in Ägypten zu verorten sei. Denn nur hier habe man auch in der hohen Kaiserzeit noch mit den traditionellen Diptycha gearbeitet, während sonst längst Triptycha gebräuchlich waren.[16] Allein im Nilland sei daher die hochkant mit Tinte beschriebene Außenseite des Diptychons sichtbar gewesen, das mit seiner „authoritativeness" das Modell vorgab, an dem sich die frühen Christen für die Niederlegung ihrer heiligen Schriften orientierten.[17]

Mit ihrer ebenso scharfsinnigen wie detailreichen Rekonstruktion hat Meyer nicht nur auf eine ganze Reihe von Schwachstellen aufmerksam gemacht, an denen die bisherige Diskussion oft krankte, sondern die Überlegungen hierzu auch auf eine gänzlich neue Basis gestellt. Dies gilt namentlich für die allzu selten berücksichtigten kodikologischen Faktoren wie Schreibrichtung, Position der Löcher oder Layout, die Meyer für insoweit signifikant erklärt, um nochmals besonders auf die Formate und namentlich die Proportionen abzuheben.[18] Zwei mindestens ebenso gewichtigen Punkten wird allerdings auch bei ihr erstaunlich geringe Beachtung zuteil. Dies betrifft zum einen die Frage der Bindung, über die sie allzu rasch hinweggeht,[19] und

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versehene Schreibgerät in dem von Szirmai vindizierten Relief, das an den in der klassischen Welt verbreiteten Stylus erinnert; hierzu zuletzt Cammarosano 2014, bes. 73 sowie ders., http://www.cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/doku.php?id=cuneiform_writing_techniques, bes. fig. 9f. (Zugriff am 17.11.2017), dem ich sehr herzlich für den Austausch hierüber zu danken habe.

14 Szirmai 1999, bes. 4, die Details 7ff.; gegen einen allzu engen Bezug zum Christentum allerdings Emmel 1998, bes. 39 mit Verweis auf die ungleich größere Breite der religiösen Ausrichtungen im frühen koptischen Schrifttum.

15 Vgl. nur Meyer 2007, zur Kritik an der bisherigen Forschung bes. 300f. und Anm. 28.

16 So bes. Meyer 2007, 308 sowie zusammenfassend 311, zu letzterem bes. die „Conclusion" 329f.

17 Meyer 2007, 317ff., mit einer Liste der christlichen Codices 338ff. App. 4.

18 Vgl. nur Meyer 2007, 311 „Direction of the writing, hinging, size, proportions, abbreviations and interpuncts, and (possibly) valuation placed on a wooden tablet: all of these characteristics matter in identifying the closest potential prototype in Egypt for a papyrus codex"; zu den Formaten 311ff. und bes. 315 fig. 7, grundlegend hierfür allerdings weiterhin die umfassende Studie von Turner 1977.

19 So gibt sich Meyer 2007, 311f. letztlich mit der Darstellung zufrieden „then hinged by driving a string or thread directly through the papyrus (with two holes or with two pairs of holes) at some distance from the fold – as tablets were hinged – rather than by being sewn through the folds, as developed later", mit 314 fig. 6. Zwar finden sich in den zugehörigen Anm. 61f. oder auch der Übersicht 338ff. App. 4 weitere Details, doch unterbleibt der Versuch einer noch genaueren Systematisierung.

zum anderen – nochmals schwerwiegender, da fraglos zentral – den nirgends berührten Aspekt des Umgangs mit dem Artefakt.

Die Schultafeln schieden nach Meyer jedenfalls als Vorbilder aus, da sie in der Regel parallel zu den Längsseiten und damit im Querformat beschrieben wurden.[20] Dies war bei den Rechtsdokumenten allerdings nicht anders, soweit es die beiden Innentafeln, teilweise auch die Außentafeln mit den Namen der Zeugen betraf; lediglich der gleichlautende Außentext wurde auf einem Diptychon *transversa* und also hochkant festgehalten.[21] Doch sollte dies nach der Versiegelung wie bei den bronzenen Militärdiplomen die Schauseite werden, die als einzige von der Außenwelt wahrnehmbar war.[22] Eben dies ließ ihnen die von Meyer postulierte „authoritativeness" zuwachsen, womit die Rechtsdokumente zum eigentlichen Vorläufer des Codex avancierten.

Folgt man Meyer, hätten die ägyptischen Christen demnach nicht nur eine äußerst bemerkenswerte Transferleistung vollzogen, sondern wesentliche Elemente im Gebrauch von Wachstafeln kurzerhand ausgeblendet. Denn die Beschriftung parallel zu den Längsseiten stellte bekanntlich bei allen kleinformatigen Schreibtäfelchen die Regel dar,[23] von denen sich die Rechtsdokumente nur durch die nachmalige Siegelung und ein vielleicht schon eingearbeitetes Siegelfeld unterschieden.[24] So wenig

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20 Hierzu Meyer 2007, 304 ff. mit 305 fig. 1, eine Liste der insgesamt 19 „Wooden and Wooden-and-Wax Schooltablets from Egypt" bis zum III. Jhdt. 331 f. App. 1; zu den unterschiedlichen Traditionen in der Art der Beschriftung auch schon Cauderlier 1989, 46 f.

21 Hierzu Meyer 2007, 308 ff. mit 309 fig. 3 f., eine Liste der insgesamt 37 „Roman Legal Documents on Wooden and Wooden-and-Wax Tabulae" bis zum III. Jhdt. 334 ff. App. 3.

22 So ausdrücklich Meyer 2007, bes. 308.

23 Vgl. nur zuletzt knapp nochmals Tomlin 2016 in der Einl. zu T. Bloomberg, bes. 27: „The tablets were inscribed horizontally long-axis in ‚landscape' format, unlike the pages of this volume which are ‚portrait' format with the long axis vertical"; zu den Formaten und Typen bes. 22 ff., wonach der sog. Typ A 1 – eine Außentafel, die aus einer eingetieften und mit Wachs gefüllten Innenseite und einer geglätteten Außenseite besteht – ebenso wie andernorts auch unter den neuen Schreibtafelfunden aus London die bei weitem überwiegende Mehrzahl stellt. Ebenso etwa auch Tegtmeier 2016, 21 ff. zu den Kölner Funden sowie Hartmann 2011 zu denjenigen aus Eschenz am Untersee, bes. 126 zur Schreibrichtung („Die Beschriftung [...] erfolgte immer parallel zu den Jahrringen der Holztafel") wie zur Verteilung der Typen; grundlegend weiterhin Speidel 1996, 16 ff. in der Einl. zu T. Vindon. So im Übrigen auch Meyer 2007, bes. 309 fig. 3.

24 Bei Grabungsfunden sind die mit eingearbeiteten Siegelfeldern ausgestatteten Tafeltypen – nach Speidel 1996, 24 ff. S 1–8 – denn auch regelmäßig deutlich in der Minderzahl. Anders ist dies bei Zufallsfunden, da Rechtsdokumente stets sorgfältiger als anderes aufbewahrt wurden und daher in manchen Gegenden allein noch auffindbar sind; als Paradebeispiel seien nur die wohl zu Sicherungszwecken im Bergwerk von Alburnus Maior bzw. Roșia Montană deponierten T. Daciae genannt. Entsprechend sind sie unter den schrifttragenden Artefakten dieser Art grundsätzlich überrepräsentiert, was das Gesamtbild erheblich verzerrt, in den einschlägigen Studien jedoch nicht immer hinreichend berücksichtigt erscheint. Tatsächlich kann entgegen Meyer 2004, bes. 24 und *passim* kein Zweifel daran sein, dass die kleinformatigen Schreibtäfelchen Produkte der Alltagsschriftlichkeit waren, wofür man in Ägypten vorzugsweise Papyri oder Ostraka nutzte, vgl. nur die z. T. noch mit Schriftzügen versehenen Allerweltsfunde aus Windisch oder jetzt auch Eschenz mit Hartmann bei Leuzinger 2012, 110 f. sowie Hartmann 2015, 45; ebenso schon Vienne 1992, 212 zu den Funden in Saintes sowie die

Exemplare auch in Ägypten erhalten blieben, ist indessen kaum mit völliger Unkenntnis zu rechnen, wie schon die reichen Funde an Styli etwa in Karanis anzeigen.[25] Die mutmaßliche Bedeutungszuschreibung ließe sich damit nur durch eine extreme Fokussierung erklären, die sich bewusst über allseits geläufige Fakten hinweggesetzt hätte und insofern geradezu wider besseres Wissen agierte.

Was die Bindung anbelangt, wurden diese Tafeln über die Außenseite mit Scharnierschnüren verbunden, die man durch zwei einzelne Löcher auf dem unteren Rahmen zog.[26] Seit dem im Jahr 61 n. Chr. ergangenen S. C. *adversus falsarios* wurde zudem das Siegelfeld selbst durchlocht, da die vormalige bloße Umwicklung mit einer Verschlussschnur über *stria* oder *sulcus* nicht mehr genügend Sicherheit vor Fälschungen zu gewähren schien. Stattdessen wurde nunmehr eine Siegelschnur durch die *tabula pertusa* hindurchgeführt, um die Siegel erst im Anschluss darauf zu platzieren und somit jede mutwillige Lösung zu unterbinden.[27] Mit der Bindung der Codices haben beide Arten der Schnürung in der Tat nichts gemein.

Das letztlich entscheidende Gegenargument stellt jedoch die grundlegende Differenz in der Handhabung dar, da ein Rechtsdokument *per definitionem* verschlossen und versiegelt und damit nur anzuschauen, aber nicht zu benutzen und vor allem nicht wie die nachmaligen Codices zu blättern war. Dieses Defizit erscheint so essentiell, dass auch die von Meyer herausgearbeiteten Analogien in Seitenformat oder Umfang es nicht aufzuwiegen vermögen, abgesehen davon, dass bei den von ihr als

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Belege bei Painter 1967, 103 ff. Nr. 1–8. Hierzu allgem. auch Wiegels 1982, 347; Marichal 1992, 174 ff. 178; Speidel 1996, 19 f. 22; Tegtmeier 2016, 21; Tomlin 2016, 18. Dem steht auch nicht entgegen, dass es mit den geglätteten und mit Tinte beschreibbaren sog. ‚leaf-tablets‘, wie sie jetzt vor allem aus dem britannischen Vindolanda bekannt geworden sind, für Alltagstexte vielerorts eine noch kostengünstigere Variante gab; vgl. hierzu nur Bowman/Thomas 1983, 32 ff. und bes. 36 f.

25 Vgl. jetzt Terpstra 2014, zu diesem für Wachstafeln typischen und letztlich auch nur hierfür einsetzbaren Schreibgerät bes. 98 ff. 105. 107 f. sowie zusammenfassend 114.

26 Vgl. die entsprechenden Nachzeichnungen z. B. bei Speidel 1996, 19. 23 f.; Meyer 2004, 128 ff.; Camodeca 2007, 103; Tegtmeier 2016, 22, vgl. auch 23 zu den einzelnen Tafelteilen; Tomlin 2016, 22. 24; zu den verschiedenen Tafeltypen mitsamt der Verteilung der Löcher (oder besser Durchlochungen) grundlegend weiterhin Speidel 1996, 24 ff.

27 Vgl. nur Suet., Nero 17 *adversus falsarios tunc primum repertum, ne tabulae nisi pertusae ac ter lino per foramina traiecto obsignarentur* ‚gegen die Fälscher von Dokumenten wurde damals zuerst das Sicherheitsmittel erfunden, die Tafeln immer mit Löchern zu versehen, durch welche man einen dreifachen Faden zog und so das Siegel daraufsetzte‘ (Übers. A. Stahr); auch (Ps.-)Paul., Sent. 5, 25, 6 *amplissimus ordo decrevit eas tabulas quae publici vel privati contractus scripturam continent [...] triplici lino constringantur* ‚der Senat entschied, dass die Tafeln, die die Schriftfassung eines öffentlichen oder privaten Vertrages enthalten, mit einer dreifachen Schnur zu verbinden waren‘. Hierzu allgem. bereits Zangemeister, Praef. zu CIL IV Suppl., bes. 277 ff.; Wenger 1953, 75; Wilmanns 1981, 18 ff. Zu der zeitweilig in Zweifel gezogenen Datierung des S. C. eingehend nochmals Camodeca 1995, 68 ff.; vgl. auch Meyer 2004, 161 ff. sowie bereits 126 ff. zur Entwicklung der Formate, die bei den kampanischen Rechtsdokumenten insgesamt fünf Entwicklungsstufen erkennen will; zuletzt erneut Camodeca 2007, bes. 95 ff., der entgegen Meyer allerdings auf nur drei Entwicklungsstufen beharrt (95 Anm. 50).

zusätzliches Argument ins Feld geführten Layoutdetails auch noch die Überwindung der Sprachengrenze gefordert war.[28]

Blieben also noch die ‚account-tablets‘, die den nicht zu verachtenden Vorzug besitzen, ebenfalls parallel zu den Schmalseiten und also hochkant beschrieben zu sein.[29] Nach Meyer sei jedoch auch ihnen eine Vorläuferschaft abzusprechen, da sich Proportionen und Größe zu wenig mit denen der christlichen Codices deckten.[30] Formate pflegen allerdings, wie man weiß, noch am ehesten zeit- und ortstypisch zu sein. Vor allem treffen wir hier bereits früh eine Zusammenfügung mehrerer Tafeln zu Polyptycha an, wie schon das eindrucksvolle, um das Jahr 100 v. Chr. entstandene Relief am sog. Altar des Domitius Ahenobarbus zeigt.[31] Doch gilt es zunächst zu prüfen, welche Details überhaupt als einschlägig gelten können, eine mögliche Vorläuferschaft zu begründen.

Richtig ist an Szirmais Bedenken zweifellos so viel, dass ganze Bücher im Codexformat erst dem III./IV. Jhdt. entstammen und zu einem guten Teil – wovon auch Meyers Überlegungen ihren Ausgang nahmen – im christlichen Bereich zu situieren sind. Andererseits ist kaum zu bestreiten, dass es tatsächlich schon im II. Jhdt. n. Chr. Codices gab.[32] Über ihre konkrete Gestalt zu Beginn des Jahrtausends ist jedoch kaum

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28 Mit Blick auf die Abkürzungen oder diakritischen Zeichen als (Vor-)lesehilfen insoweit jedoch zuversichtlich Meyer 2007, 312 und bes. 316. Vgl. zu diesen Fragen jetzt auch die Beiträge von Jonas Leipziger sowie Jan Heilmann in diesem Band.

29 Hierzu Meyer 2007, 307 f. mit 306 fig. 2, eine Liste der insgesamt 27 „Wooden and Wooden-and-Wax Account-Tablets from Egypt“ bis zum III./IV. Jhdt. 333 f. App. 2. So etwa auch schon auf dem frühen Relief des sog. Altars des Domitius Ahenobarbus; dazu gleich.

30 Vgl. nur Meyer 2007, 307 f.: „Their *transversa* orientation and proportions bring wooden account-books closer to the orientation and proportions of Christian codices, but the fit (of proportions and size) is still not as good as it might be – and as a look at the next category will show“, da die Verhältnisse bei den Rechtsdokumenten ihrer Ansicht nach günstiger ausfielen; vgl. auch 311 f. und bes. 341 f. App. 5.

31 Vgl. nur Paris, Louvre Ma 975 mit Szene 1, die gerade auch die Beschriftung parallel zu den Schmalseiten bestens erkennen lässt. Offenbleiben mag dabei, ob die ganz links sitzende und üblicherweise mit dem 115 v. Chr. als Censor amtierenden Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus identifizierte Figur tatsächlich schreibt; so Cavallo 1992, 102 zu fig. 1 „il personaggio scrive su tavolette di ampio formato“, zweifelhaft dagegen Brinkmann 1911, 153 Anm. 4, „weil das aufgeklappte Diptychon oder Polyptychon auf dem linken Schenkel liegt“, was freilich rein künstlerischen Aspekten zu verdanken sein mag, vgl. nur die zuvor in anderem Zusammenhang erörterten Probleme perspektivischer Darstellung. Nichts hierzu bemerkenswerterweise in der bislang maßgeblichen Studie von Coarelli 1968, 346 f., der darin offenbar eine Art Dexiosis sieht und dafür auf Parallelen in attischen Grabreliefs verweist. Nach der überzeugenden Neuinterpretation von Maschek 2018, der auch einen umfassenden Überblick über alle bisherigen Deutungen bietet, handelt das Relief jedoch von einer Koloniegründung und sei daher vielmehr mit den Aktivitäten des C. Gracchus in den Jahren 123 bis 121 v. Chr. zu verbinden, wobei in dem hier in Rede stehenden, mit *calcei* ausgestatteten „*Togatus* with writing tablet (Left)“ (35) der ranghöchste der dargestellten *tresviri coloniae deducendae* und also der frühere Konsul M. Fulvius Flaccus zu erkennen sei, bei dem die präsumptiven Kolonisten um Registrierung nachsuchten.

32 Vgl. nur Turner 1977, bes. die chronologisch geordnete Liste 89 ff.; mit Vorbehalten gegenüber einer Reihe der Frühdatierungen allerdings Cavallo 1989, bes. 171 f. und zusammenfassend 172. Angesichts

Näheres in Erfahrung zu bringen, da wir in den meisten Fällen nur über Einzelblätter verfügen. In jedem Fall verlief die Entwicklung weniger geradlinig als vielfach vermeint, wobei nicht nur auf das Verschwinden der noch von Martial hoch gepriesenen *pugillares membranei* zu verweisen ist. Ebenso ließen sich etwa auch die zahlreichen eingeschobenen Einzelblätter anführen, auf die wir bei den frühen koptischen Codices treffen und aus denen nur allzu deutlich wird, welch starken Schwankungen das Konzept der Lage in dieser Zeit noch unterworfen war.[33] Nach alldem steht jedenfalls nicht zu bezweifeln, dass das uns heute so selbstverständliche Buchformat sich noch jahrhundertelang in einem Versuchsstadium befand, und zwar auch, was die Konstruktion als solche betraf.

In dieser Hinsicht wird gemeinhin zwischen zwei Typen von Codices unterschieden, nämlich einerseits dem aus einer einzigen Lage bestehenden Typ A, auch ‚single-quire codex' oder ‚cahier (unique)', der mitunter einige Dutzend aufeinander gestapelter Doppelblätter umfassen konnte,[34] und andererseits dem aus mehreren aneinander gehefteten Lagen gefertigten Typ B, dessen Lagenstärke lange variierte, bevor der heute gebräuchliche Quaternio die Oberhand gewann. Bei beiden Typen haben wir mit gefalteten Bifolien zu tun, die mit einem durch den Mittelfalz verlaufenden Heftfaden miteinander verbunden bzw. zu einem Buchblock zusammengeheftet wurden. Bei genauerer Betrachtung zumal der frühen Evidenz wird jedoch immer klarer, dass neben diesen beiden üblichen Codexformaten noch ein dritter Typ C anzusetzen ist, bei dem Einzelblätter aus Papyrus oder Pergament zu einer Art Loseblattsammlung zusammengefügt wurden. Damit ließe sich endlich auch manchen der – nicht völlig unberechtigten – Vorbehalte Szirmais begegnen, was die Existenz so früher Codices im Sinne eines gehefteten und fest mit einer Hülle verbundenen Buchblocks betrifft.

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der vorwiegend paläographisch begründeten Datierungsvorschläge ist allerdings schwerlich mit einem endgültigen Abschluss der Debatte zu rechnen. Vgl. im übrigen Orsini/Clarysse 2012; zuletzt etwa auch Nongbri 2014 an einem konkreten Beispiel, hier P. Bodmer II ($\mathfrak{P}$66; IV. Jhdt.; = TM#61627), sowie jetzt die Monographie von Nongbri 2018, worauf hier nurmehr verwiesen sei.

33 Vgl. nur die detaillierten Darlegungen zu den koptischen Codices der Pierpont Morgan Library bei Depuydt 1993, I xciiiff.; zu individuellen Lösungen, die sich etwa aus dem Interesse an einer optimalen Verwertung der zu einem Codex umgearbeiteten Papyrusrolle ergaben, Ibscher 1920, 38 am Beispiel der koptischen Proverbienhandschrift Berlin, Ms. or. oct. 987 (IV. Jhdt.; = TM#107968; jetzt http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSBook_islamhs_00006401, vgl. auch https://brentnongbri.com/2018/06/18/another-book-biography-the-berlin-akhmimic-proverbs-codex/ [Zugriffe am 02.07.2018]), während Emmel 1998, 38f. auf die neu konzipierten Überbreiten der σελίδες bei der Anfertigung der Rollen verweist, durch die man allzu viele Kolleseis bei der Verarbeitung zu Codices zu vermeiden suchte.

34 Nach Gascou 1989, 98ff. bestanden dokumentarische Codices dieses Typs nur ausnahmsweise aus mehr als 30 Doppelblättern. Bei literarischen ‚Cahiers' war derlei dagegen durchaus häufiger der Fall, die mitunter sogar aus mehr als 70 Doppelblättern bestehen konnten; vgl. nur Turner 1977, 58ff. Tab. 6 und bes. P. Mil. Vogl. V (V. Jhdt.; = TM#107795) mit insgesamt 49 durchgezählten Blättern der Paulusbriefe in koptischer Sprache, wobei die letzte erhaltene Seitenzahl 279 auf fol. 46r nach T. Orlandi, Einl. S. 10 auf einen Umfang von etwa 75 Doppelblättern und also 300 Seiten schließen lässt.

Eine derartige „sorta di codice rudimentale" hatte erstmals Isabella Andorlini im Zusammenhang mit Galens – damals einzig bekannter – πυκτὶς διφθέρα ins Gespräch gebracht, die sich ihrer Meinung nach aus einzelnen, in der Regel nur einseitig mit Rezepten beschrifteten Pergamentblättern zusammensetzte.[35] Hierin meinte sie sogar ein Grundprinzip solcher Rezeptbücher erkennen zu können, muss es dabei doch nicht zuletzt darum gegangen sein, weitere Rezepte jederzeit am richtigen Ort hinzufügen, ggf. aber auch aus akutem Anlass entnehmen zu können.[36] Andorlinis ingeniöse Rekonstruktion hat nunmehr durch die Ausführungen Galens in seiner erst kürzlich wiederentdeckten Schrift Περὶ Ἀλυπίας oder *Über die Unverdrossenheit* neue Nahrung erhalten, in der er als seinen größten Schmerz den Verlust seiner unschätzbaren Rezeptbücher beschreibt. In wehmütiger Erinnerung lässt er nochmals die gesamte Entstehungs- und Erwerbungsgeschichte Revue passieren, wonach sie offenbar über Jahrzehnte hinweg angelegt worden waren, wobei ihr Name διφθέρα bereits auf die Tierhaut – also Pergament, ursprünglich vielleicht in der Tat eher Leder – als den hierfür typischen Beschreibstoff verweist.

Das Phänomen des aus Einzelblättern bestehenden Codex als solches hatte Jean Gascou schon bei einigen der lange vernachlässigten dokumentarischen Codices beobachten können,[37] wobei die beiden einzigen sicheren Zeugnisse erst dem VII. oder sogar VIII. Jhdt. entstammen.[38] Hinsichtlich der Bindung stellt sich bei diesem besonderen Typ C das spezifische Problem, dass der Heftfaden nicht wie üblich durch einen – hier eben nicht vorhandenen – Mittelfalz zu führen war. Bei dem von Gascou selbst herausgegebenen P. Sorb. II 69 wurde diese Schwierigkeit dadurch bewältigt, dass man in gewissem Abstand davon auf den inneren Seitenrändern insgesamt sechs Löcher positionierte, die sich relativ gleichmäßig über die gesamte Blatthöhe verteilten.[39]

Entsprechende Löcherreihen sind bemerkenswerterweise auch bei wenigen späten Codices aus Bifolien anzutreffen,[40] worunter der hebräisch beschriftete, in jeder

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35 Vgl. nur Andorlini 1994, 413 zur Charakteristik der „forme librarie ‚alternative' e in qualche modo innovatrici rispetto al rotolo".

36 Dazu jetzt eingehend Jördens (im Druck).

37 Vgl. nur Gascou 1989, 79.

38 Nämlich der inzwischen von ihm edierte P. Sorb. II 69 (618/19 oder 633/34; = TM#20110) sowie SB VI 9583 (2. Hälfte VII. Jhdt., mit BL XII 198; = TM#41014); zu dem von Gascou 1989, 79 noch als „plus douteux" bezeichneten SB XXII 15706 (VI./VII. Jhdt.; = TM#65191) unten Anm. 40.

39 Vgl. nur Gascou, Einl. zu P. Sorb. II 69, bes. 9f. mit fig. I. Ähnlich möglicherweise auch das kopfstehend beschriebene Einzelblatt P. Cair. Masp. II 67143 (538–547; = TM#18901), das an der rechten Seite ebenfalls eine erstaunlich regelmäßige Löcherreihe aufweist, wobei allerdings die frühe Datierung gegen eine solche Einordnung sprechen mag; vgl. nur http://www.misha.fr/papyrus_bipab/images/grandes_images/P_Cair_Masp_II_67143_r_.jpg (gegen die Fasern) bzw. http://www.misha.fr/papyrus_bipab/images/grandes_images/P_Cair_Masp_II_67143_v_.jpg (mit den Fasern; Zugriffe am 11.3.2019).

40 So etwa bei dem schon von Gascou 1989, 79 als möglichen weiteren Beleg für den Typ C benannten SB XXII 15706 (VI./VII. Jhdt.; = TM#65191), da es sich bei dem einzigen erhaltenen Blatt zweifelsfrei

Hinsicht singuläre sog. *Codex de Cambridge* mit Dichtungen des Joseph Berabi Nissan aus dem VIII./IX. Jhdt. nochmals besondere Erwähnung verdient.[41] Denn bei diesem Codex, der aus mindestens 24 aufeinandergelegten Doppelblättern bestand und damit zum Typ A zu rechnen ist, war die Bindung erhalten geblieben, so dass sich ausnahmsweise Genaueres über die – durchgehende – Fadenführung sagen lässt.[42] Szirmai war diesbezüglich allerdings eher zögerlich und gab auch die Möglichkeit bloßer Reparaturen zu bedenken.[43] Auf Reparaturmaßnahmen zurückgehende seitliche Löcher scheinen sich jedenfalls auch andernorts nachweisen zu lassen,[44] da der Mittelfalz stets stark beansprucht und zumal bei Papyruscodices tendenziell brüchig war, weswegen er auch gern mit schmalen Pergamentstreifen hinterfangen wurde.[45] Eine Aussage über die Abfolge verschiedener Löchersysteme – also darüber, welche

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um ein Doppelblatt handelt, vgl. nur die Ed. pr. von Maresch/Sijpesteijn 1993, bes. 57 und Taf. II sowie P. Sorb. II 69, 9 mit Anm. 14. Zum Verfahren auch bereits Davenport 1907, 30, demzufolge „the rectangular pages were kept in position by a binding cord laced through holes pierced sideways right through the entire thickness of the back of the book. The marks of these holes can often be seen along the inner margins of ancient papyri", mit der Nachzeichnung in fig. 23 (31); zitiert auch von Diringer 1953, 163, dessen hierauf basierende Darstellung „the papyri codices were mainly stabbed" jedoch zu weit geht. Vgl. jetzt auch Nongbri 2018, bes. 29 ff. mit Hinweis auf den doppelt – d. h. sowohl außen über die Seitenränder wie durch sie hindurch – gehefteten Quaternio P. Mon. Epiph. 529 (1. H. VII. Jhdt.; = TM#6416), vgl. bes. 31 Fig. 1.4 („bound by overcasting and stabbing"); hierzu auch Boud'hors 2010, 183 „cousus ensemble assez grossièrement".

41 Codex Cambridge, T. S. 6 H 9–21 (VIII./IX. Jhdt.; = TM#113850), vgl. nur Sirat 1985, 69–80. 117 mit pl. 60–69; jetzt auch http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/Taylor-Schechter/GF/5/ (Zugriff am 15.11.2017). Offenbar irrig dagegen die Datierung auf das IV./V. Jhdt. bei Szirmai 1999, 13.

42 Vgl. Sirat 1985, bes. 75 ff. mit pl. XVIII (Wiederabdruck eines offenbar nach der Ankunft in Cambridge aufgenommenen Photos bei Diringer 1953, 160 fig. IV-17) sowie 78 fig. 33 eine Nachzeichnung, pl. XIX f. eine moderne Rekonstruktion.

43 Vgl. nur Szirmai 1999, bes. 13 mit dem Verweis auf Kasser 1971 zum Menander-Codex der Bodmeriana; dazu gleich.

44 So vor allem bei dem berühmten Menander-Codex der Bodmeriana mit Samia, Dyskolos und Aspis P. Bodm. XXV + XXVI + IV + P. Köln VIII 331 + P. Duk. inv. 775 (IV. Jhdt.; = TM#61594), der schon Widmann 1967, 590 f. mit Verweis auf Martin 1960 zu der Annahme hatte gelangen lassen, man habe mit einem „Polyptychon von Papyrusblättern" (591) zu tun, was sich jedoch recht bald als spätere – sogar erst zweite – Reparaturmaßnahme erwies; vgl. schon den Nachtrag von Widmann 1967, 640 selbst mit Verweis auf Martin 1966 und unten Anm. 46. Ähnlich etwa auch bei P. Mich. inv. 1289 (V./VI. Jhdt.; = TM#107877), vgl. https://www.lib.umich.edu/online-exhibits/exhibits/show/puzzle-me-this--early-binding-/more-text-evidence-of-binding sowie bereits Husselman 1950, bes. 321 in der Ed. pr.; dort auch der Verweis auf den offenbar weiterhin unpublizierten P. Mich. inv. 4286 (V.–IX. Jhdt.; = TM#112660), vgl. auch https://www.lib.umich.edu/online-exhibits/exhibits/show/puzzle-me-this--early-binding-/a-notebook-of-psalms (Zugriffe am 15.11.2017).

45 Zu diesen „reinforcing strips on the spine" auch Szirmai 1999, 13; Ibscher 1920, 39, der auf die Parallele der Schirtingstreifen verweist; zuletzt Nongbri 2014, bes. 25 f. zu P. Bodmer II (𝔓66; IV. Jhdt.; = TM#61627, eine Nachzeichnung auch bei Meyer 2007, 313 fig. 5). Vgl. außer der von Ibscher 1920, 38 ff. eingehend diskutierten Proverbienhandschrift Berlin, Ms. or. oct. 987 (IV. Jhdt.; = TM#107968) oder dem sog. *Codex Barcinonensis* (dazu unten Anm. 102 f.) etwa auch den Heidelberger Septuagintacodex P. Heid. inv. G 600 (VI./VII. Jhdt., VHP I 1; = TM#62141) mit Sach 4,6–Mal 4,5, wo Schnüre und Strei-

Löcher in solchen Fällen jeweils die ursprünglichen waren und welche nur Reparaturzwecken dienten – ist freilich kaum je mit letzter Sicherheit zu treffen.[46]

Ebenfalls dem Typ A gehört der sehr viel frühere, nämlich bereits aus der zweiten Hälfte des III. Jhdts. stammende sog. *Harris Homer Codex* an, der eine ganz andere Art der Bindung aufweist. Dieser heute in London liegende Codex bietet wohl das berühmteste Beispiel dafür, dass die Heftung nicht wie üblich durch den Mittelfalz, sondern durch seitwärts versetzte Löcher erfolgte. In diesem Fall haben wir es allerdings nicht mit Löcherreihen, sondern mit drei senkrecht gestellten Doppellöchern unten, oben und in der Mitte zu tun.[47] Beachtung wurde ihm bisher jedoch vor allem wegen seiner ungewöhnlichen Anlage zuteil, da die Iliasverse sich ausschließlich auf den rechten Seiten des aus neun Bifolien gefertigten ‚Cahier' befinden. Die linken Seiten blieben dagegen zunächst frei, um später kopfstehend dazu einen grammatischen Traktat und sogar Rechnungen aufzunehmen.[48]

Dies hatte schon immer für Aufmerksamkeit gesorgt, ganz abgesehen davon, dass man klassische Texte und namentlich Homer auch in spätester Zeit noch bevorzugt in Rollenform las. Cavallo wollte diesen Codex daher unter die „codici rudimentali, veri e propri ‚note-books'" rechnen, „certo d'uso scolastico", für die die nur

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fen, wenn auch separat, noch erhalten sind; vgl. http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/Papyri/ VHP_I/001/VHP_I_1_XXVIIIa(150).html bzw. http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/Papyri/ VHP_I/001/VHP_I_1_XXVIIIb(150).html (Zugriffe am 18.06.2018).

46 So allerdings bei P. Bodm. XXV + XXVI + IV + P. Köln VIII 331 + P. Duk. inv. 775 (IV. Jhdt.; = TM#61594) mit Martin 1966 und bes. Kasser 1971, der insgesamt drei verschiedene Phasen der Bindung rekonstruierte, wonach der aus wenigstens 16 Doppelblättern des Typs A bestehende Codex ursprünglich mit zwei Doppellöchern im Falz geheftet war, ein erster Reparaturversuch teilweise ebenfalls noch im – schon angebrochenen – Falz verlief und die drei heute am deutlichsten erkennbaren Doppellöcher auf dem Seitenrand der dritten und letzten Phase angehörten, in der der Codex, wie einige Fehler in Anordnung und Seitennummerierung nahelegen, gar nicht mehr primär für die Lektüre gedacht, sondern nurmehr ein Erinnerungsstück war, „toute auréolée encore de souvenirs prestigieux" (49). Zu bereits antiken Reparaturen allgem. jetzt auch Nongbri 2018, 40f.

47 Vgl. nur P. Lond. I 126 descr. mit insgesamt neun Doppelblättern des Typs A; hierzu, jeweils mit Abbildungen einzelner Seiten, etwa van Haelst 1989, 18f. mit pl. 3; Turner 1987, 40f. Nr. 14; Schironi 2010, 168–171 Nr. 42, zum Inhalt die folgende Anm. Auf die abweichende Datierung bereits in das II. Jhdt. durch Cavallo 1989, 170 und bes. Anm. 6 sei lediglich hingewiesen.

48 Homer, Il. II 101 – IV 40 jeweils auf dem Rekto von fol. 1–18, allerdings ohne II 168, 202, dem sog. Schiffskatalog 494–877 sowie III 94 (P. Lond. Lit. 5; = TM#61277). Auf dem Verso von fol. 16–18, d. h. den letzten – bzw., wenn man den Codex, wie hier geschehen, um 180° drehte, den ersten – drei freien Seiten trug eine andere Hand kopfstehend dazu Τρύφωνος τέχνη γραμματικοί l. γραμματική ein (so nach dem am Ende in Z. 122 gegebenen Titel; P. Lond. Lit. 182, jetzt Wouters 1979, 61–92 Nr. 2; = TM#110341); die 21 Zeilen stark abgeriebener Rechnungen, die sich ebenfalls kopfstehend zum Homertext auf fol. 5v finden (= TM#91831), sind offenbar weiterhin unpubliziert. Die Frage der Bindung scheint bisher nirgends eingehender thematisiert; auch Wouters 1979, 64 bemerkt nur lapidar: „The papyrus book was tied together with thread; the holes are still visible on the different sheets. No traces of binding have survived."

einseitige Beschriftung geradezu ein Charakteristikum sei.[49] Schließlich hatte schon Quintilian empfohlen, bei hölzernen Polyptycha bzw. den ggf. aus optischen Gründen vorzuziehenden *membranae* die jeweils gegenüberliegende Seite für Ergänzungen freizulassen.[50] Wurde diese Empfehlung bislang vor allem für die Rekonstruktion der Notizbücher oder eben ,note-books', nach Andorlini auch der Rezeptbücher herangezogen, verdient mindestens ebenso Beachtung, dass Quintilian Holz- bzw. Wachstafeln und Pergament im selben Atemzug nennt. Ihm ging es demnach primär um die Handhabung des Artefakts beim Lesen, während er den unterschiedlichen Materialien zumindest in dieser Hinsicht offenbar keine Bedeutung zumaß. Dasselbe gilt für die Frage der Buchbindung als solche, über die er sich wohlgemerkt gänzlich in Schweigen hüllt.

Was das Material betrifft, ist es insofern kaum als Zufall zu betrachten, dass die 21 Iliasverse, die Cavallo als einziges weiteres Beispiel hierfür benennt, auf einem Pergament- oder vielleicht eher Lederfragment stehen.[51] Noch besser passt hierzu das singuläre Exemplar eines ledernen Notizbuchs aus der Berliner Sammlung, das mit

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49 So Cavallo 1989, 170, der den Codex zunächst als „di contenuto miscellaneo" beschreibt, dann jedoch fortfährt „La stessa caratteristica, inoltre, s'incontra in un vero e proprio codice di ragguardevole formato", um ihn irrtümlich erneut anzuführen. Hierzu auch van Haelst 1989, 19 in der Legende zu pl. 3 „Cahier scolaire: Homère sur les pages de droite; les pages de gauche sont blanches." Dies stellt zugleich eine Besonderheit gegenüber dem wohl nur wenig späteren sog. *Morgan Homer* dar, der, ebenfalls ein Codex des Typs A bzw. ,Cahier' und als solcher vom Format her durchaus vergleichbar, aber durchgehend beschriftet und mit ursprünglich 31 Doppelblättern nochmals deutlich umfangreicher war; vgl. dazu unten Anm. 56.

50 Vgl. nur Quint., Inst. Or. X 3, 32 *relinquendae autem in utrolibet genere* (scil. *ceris, in quibus facillima est ratio delendi, nisi forte visus infirmior membranarum potius usum exiget*) *contra erunt vacuae tabellae, in quibus libera adiciendi sit excursio* ,In jedem Fall (d. h. auf Wachstäfelchen, wo das Geschriebene ganz leicht getilgt werden kann, falls nicht gerade ein allzu schwaches Sehvermögen eher den Gebrauch von Pergament erfordert) wird man daneben unbeschriebene Seiten als freien Raum für Zusätze bereithalten müssen' (Übers. F. Loretto); zitiert auch von van Haelst 1989, 18; Roberts/Skeat 1983, 21 mit Anm. 2; Sharpe 1996, 12.

51 P. Berol. 10569 mit Homer, Il. III 174–194 (III. Jhdt.; = TM#60755); vgl. auch Roberts/Skeat 1983, 21 Anm. 2 sowie die Abbildungen in der Ed. pr. APF 41, 1995, Abb. 5; Seider 1970, Abb. 33 und allgem. http://berlpap.smb.museum/02834/ (Zugriff am 25.11.2017). Die Zugehörigkeit zu einem Codex ist freilich keineswegs sicher, während der Sachverhalt bei den von Roberts/Skeat 1983, 21 Anm. 2 in diesem Zusammenhang benannten, annähernd quadratischen Papyrusblättern der Laurenziana nochmals komplexer erscheint. Denn obwohl die dort genannten zwei bzw. besser drei Papyrusblätter unstrittig zu einem einzigen Artefakt gehören (BML inv. 13743–13745; 382/83 und später), stellt sich das zeitliche Verhältnis zwischen den verschiedenen darauf befindlichen Texten – PSI I 22 und 23 (= TM#64413), 24 (= TM#23950), 34 (= TM#20123), 41 (= TM#33258), VIII 958 (= TM#64413), 959 (= TM#17605) und 960 (= #17606) – ebenso unklar dar wie das Format. So erstrecken sich die Texte teilweise über die gesamte Blattbreite (bei PSI I 34 und 41), sind teilweise aber auch in Kolumnen eingeteilt, die wiederum, zumal wenn kopfstehend zueinander, an eine – aufgrund der gelegentlich erhaltenen Datumsangaben in diesem Fall wohl vorausgehende – Nutzung als Codex denken lassen; vgl. bes. die Beschreibung auf http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;8;958 (Zugriff am 25.11.2017). In dem berühmten *Codex Barcinonensis* (dazu auch unten Anm. 102f. mit Text) ist dagegen wohl nicht mehr als ein frühes Beispiel

seinem Taschenformat und der einseitigen Beschriftung allen Vorgaben der *pugilla-res membranei* entspricht.[52] Vor allem aber ließen sich die beiden Einzelblätter erneut über senkrecht gestellte Doppellöcher am Innenrand zusammenbinden.[53] Dies verdient umso mehr Beachtung, als diese selbe Art der Doppellöcher uns schon bei dem *Harris Homer Codex* entgegengetreten war, wir sie aber – dann durch den Mittelfalz geführt – ebenso in den Papyruscodices der Chester Beatty Library und besonders dem Fund von Nag Hammadi antreffen. In diesen üblicherweise dem III./IV. Jhdt. zugeordneten Codices werden gemeinhin unsere frühesten Zeugen des gebundenen Buches erblickt, die selbst in Szirmais Augen eine solche Benennung verdienen, wiewohl sie sichtlich noch einer Experimentierphase angehören.[54] Bildeten sich im Westen später unabhängige Techniken der Bindung heraus, hat die für die koptischen Codices typische Frühform, bei der die Bindung mit zwei separat geführten Heftfäden durch zwei Doppellöcher erfolgte, in der äthiopischen Kirche bis heute überlebt.[55]

Eben diese Doppellöcher wird man demnach als typisch, wenn nicht gar konstitutiv für diese frühen Buchformate anzusehen haben.[56] Dabei spricht alles dafür, sie

der später immer beliebteren Sammelhandschriften zu sehen; insofern kaum zutreffend van Haelst 1989, 18, der ihn als „autre exemple de cahier scolaire" anführt.

52 SB XXVI 16551 (1. Hälfte III. Jhdt.; = TM#97132). Entsprechend schon abgebildet bei der Behandlung der ‚note-books' durch Roberts/Skeat 1983, 15ff. auf pl. II, vgl. auch bes. 21 mit Anm. 2; so auch eingeordnet bei Meyer 2007, 307, die allerdings von einem noch unpublizierten „parchment codex of accounts" spricht; eine Abb. auch bei Legras 2002, 84 fig. 43.

53 Verkannt allerdings von Poethke 2001 in der Einl. zur Ed. pr., der das angeblich „im Falz auseinandergeschnittene Blatt" (399) von nur 7,5 cm Höhe und 6 cm Breite wiederholt als „Doppelblatt" bezeichnet. Doch wer sollte je aus welchem Grund eine solche Durchtrennung angeordnet oder durchgeführt haben, wenn sie nicht seit alters gegeben war? Zutreffend dagegen, wie auch ebd. in Anm. 2 zitiert, schon Gascou 1989, 72 „composé de deux feuillets".

54 Vgl. van Regemorter 1955, bes. 3ff.; jetzt bes. Szirmai 1999, 7ff. sowie zuletzt Nongbri 2014, 27ff., der freilich für einen eher späteren Ansatz plädiert.

55 Zu dieser sog. „couture à deux aiguilles" bes. van Regemorter 1955, 7ff.; Vezin 1978, 37f., der die beiden einzigen erhaltenen westlichen Exemplare – das St Cuthbert Gospel of St John (früher auch Stonyhurst Gospel, um 700?; BL Add. MS 89000) und das Cadmug-Evangeliar (VIII. Jhdt.; Fulda, Hess. LB Bonif. 3) – präziser als „cousus à deux aiguillées de fil" beschreibt (38); vgl. auch Szirmai 1999, 18, demzufolge der erste Begriff allerdings insoweit missverständlich sei, als zum einen auch andere Bindungen mit zwei Nadeln ausgeführt würden, es zum anderen Heftungen durch Doppellöcher mit nur einer Nadel gebe, und der daher vorzugsweise von „paired sewing stations" spricht; hier zudem 45ff. eingehend zum äthiopischen Codex.

56 Ähnlich bereits Sharpe 1997a, 19 mit Anm. 22, wo er als weiteren Beleg hierfür den sog. *Morgan Homer* mit Homer, Il. XI – XVI (New York, PML 202; III./IV. Jhdt., vgl. auch Schironi 2010, 172–175 Nr. 43; = TM#60987) anführt; ebenso auch Szirmai 1999, 13, während von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff/Plaumann 1912, 1202f. in ihrer relativ detaillierten kodikologischen Beschreibung keinerlei Auffälligkeiten vermerken und auch die beiden abgebildeten Versoseiten fol. 19v mit Taf. IX (auch bei Schubart 1921, 132 Abb. 28) sowie fol. 31v mit Taf. X insoweit kaum Aufschluß erlauben, da das Gegenstück zu den im unteren Blattbereich parallel zum rechten Seitenrand erkennbaren Doppellöchern bzw. dem entsprechenden Ausbruch im oberen Blattbereich zu fehlen scheint. Vgl. auch Sharpe 1997b, 19f. mit Anm. 7 zu weiteren Parallelen.

zugleich als klarstes Indiz für die schon lange vermutete Herkunft des Codex aus den Holz- und Wachstafelensembles zu werten. Denn auf Doppellöcher stoßen wir bereits bei den ältesten derartigen Artefakten, die in griechischer Sprache in Ägypten zutage traten und aus dem mittleren III. Jhdt. v. Chr. datieren. Zwar ist auch hier wieder die originale Bindung verloren, zudem weist das Ensemble unterschiedliche Wachsfarben und mehrere Hände auf. Dennoch lassen sowohl das gemeinsame Format, das wie schon bei dem ledernen Notizbuch mit nicht einmal 10 cm Höhe bemerkenswert klein ausfällt, als auch die passgenauen Löcher keinerlei Zweifel daran, dass die insgesamt sieben Täfelchen einstmals zusammengebunden waren.[57]

Tatsächlich sind Wachstafeln mit Doppellöchern im Nilland bis weit in die Spätantike hinein anzutreffen, wobei sie *pace* Meyer durchaus auch in schulischem Kontext Beliebtheit genossen, wofür nur auf die gern mit dem Namen ihres Inhabers versehenen ‚Cahiers‘ verwiesen sei.[58] In der Regel besitzen sie zwei,[59] seltener jeweils drei Doppellöcher,[60] wenngleich sich auch andere Varianten finden; ihre Anzahl hing

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57 Vgl. nur Petrie 1927, 66 Nr. 67–69 (jeweils mit roten und schwarzen Wachseinlagen) sowie 70–73 (nur schwarz eingelegt), mit dem Komm. „From the threading holes being exactly as on the previous, and the breadth also alike, it seems that all these seven tablets are of one set"; vgl. auch die Abzeichnungen in der Ed. pr. von Bell 1927, bes. 69 mit Nr. 67, 71 mit Nr. 68 und 69 sowie 73f. mit Nr. 70–73, die Texte später aufgenommen in SB IV 7451 = C. Ptol. Sklav. II 129 (Mitte III. Jhdt. v. Chr., 9,1 × 5,7 cm; = TM#5692). Abbildungen schon bei Petrie 1927, pl. LIX mit Nr. 67, 68 und 70; Roberts/Skeat 1983, pl. I (London, Univ. College 36088 = Nr. 67 und 36089 = Nr. 68), vgl. auch 12; jetzt auch online unter http:// petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx (London, Univ. College 36089 = Nr. 68; 59400 = Nr. 73; Zugriff am 27.11.2017).

58 So bereits (Ps.-)Luc., Am. 44 (= Degni 1998, 123 T 281; dazu schon oben Anm. 5) mit einem der wenigen antiken Belege für den Begriff Polyptychon, der eben in diesem Kontext angesiedelt ist; allgem. auch Cribiore 1996, 65ff., zu den Löchern bes. 66 „Tablets usually had binding holes, from one to six, *ordered in groups of two*, bored into the top border" (Hervorhebung A. J.), sowie die entsprechenden Verweise in den unten in den Appendices gegebenen Listen. Grundsätzlich zurückhaltend zur Rolle von Holz- und Wachstafeln im Schulbetrieb dagegen Meyer 2004, 22ff. sowie Meyer 2007, 304ff., derzufolge Doppellöcher bei Tafeln aus dem Schulbereich sogar an eine mögliche Zweitverwendung denken lassen könnten (307 Anm. 50). Dabei weisen unter ihren 331f. App. 1 zusammengestellten 19 Zeugnissen für Schultafeln bis zum III. Jhdt. insgesamt fünf Doppellöcher auf, allerdings sind Nr. 4 bis 7 Teil ein und desselben Ensembles (P. Berol. 10508–10512, vgl. unten App. A Nr. 2), womit lediglich drei von 16 Zeugnissen verbleiben und die Rate von mehr als einem Viertel auf unter 20 % sinkt. In drei weiteren Fällen besitzen wir keine Angaben, so bei P. Lond. Lit. 63 (Nr. 10, II./III. Jhdt.; Cauderlier 1992, 90 Nr. 275; Cribiore 1996, 220 Nr. 202; = TM#63841), T. Blankertz (Nr. 12, II./III. Jhdt., verschollen; Cauderlier 1992, 81 Nr. 136–139; Cribiore 1996, 272 Nr. 384; = TM#63794) und P. Ross. Georg. I 12 (Nr. 14, II./III. Jhdt.; Cauderlier 1992, 90 Nr. 271; Cribiore 1996, 205 Nr. 135; = TM#63921).

59 Schon aufgrund der oftmals fehlenden Abbildungen ist bei der unten in App. A gegebenen Liste von Wachstafeln mit jeweils zwei Doppellöchern keinerlei Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit angestrebt. Eindrucksvollstes Beispiel ist darunter sicherlich das sog. *Cahier d'Ammonios* T. Varie 23–32, wiewohl dem Hrsg. zufolge durchaus mit gewissen Mängeln, da „cette perforation présente un caractère si approximatif qu'elle ne peut être le fait d'un professionel du bois" (so Cauderlier in der Einl., 105).

60 Beispiele hierfür – erneut ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit – unten in App. B.

auch, aber offenbar nicht ausschließlich von der Höhe der Tafel ab.[61] Stumpfe Formate mit drei Löcherpaaren wie bei dem sog. *Cahier de Papnoutis fils de Silvanus* nähern sich bereits den durchgehenden Löcherreihen an, die Gascou bei den dokumentarischen Codices der arabischen Zeit beobachtet hatte, und ließen sich vielleicht als erster Schritt in diese Richtung hin deuten. Größere Tafeln mit insgesamt nur zwei Löchern oder – unter Umständen metallenem – Griff waren dagegen wohl eher zum Aufhängen gedacht.[62]

Beide Tafeltypen waren auch außerhalb Ägyptens in Gebrauch, wie es für die Tafeln mit Griff die pompejanischen Fresken oder ein Grabrelief aus dem norischen Virunum,[63] für die Wachstafelensembles mit Doppellöchern die in Palmyra erworbenen sog. *Tabulae ceratae Assendelftianae* bezeugen.[64] Zusätzlich stoßen wir hier jedoch auch auf einen „tipo di *codex* alquanto lussuoso",[65] der über eine Reihe besonderer Ausstattungsmerkmale verfügte wie etwa eine am Blattrand befindliche *ansa* – eine Art Tabulator, mit deren Hilfe sich die Tafeln leichter umwenden ließen[66] – oder einen kleinen Schutzzapfen in der Mitte des Schriftspiegels, um die in die umgebende Wachsschicht eingeritzte Schrift vor Beschädigung bzw. Abrieb zu bewahren.[67] Hier hatte schon Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli auf die ungewöhnliche

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61 So besitzen die unten noch näher zu erörternden, über 30 cm hohen Codices aus Kellis lediglich zwei Löcherpaare, während etwa das sog. *Cahier de Papnoutis fils de Silvanus* T. Varie 43–50 (VI. Jhdt., vgl. unten App. B Nr. 3; = TM#65098) lediglich 16,5 × 14,5 cm misst, aber drei Löcherpaare aufweist, vgl. bes. Tav. LIII–LX. Möglicherweise können sich daraus chronologische Anhaltspunkte ergeben, doch steht eine systematische Untersuchung dieser Fragen weiterhin aus. Vgl. auch allgem. Brashear/Hoogendijk 1990, 25f., wiewohl ohne Versuch einer Systematisierung nach Zahl und Position der Löcher.
62 So ausgehend von den nur auf einer Seite sichtbaren „curved holes" von T. Duk. inv. 7 = P. Duk. inv. 232 (VII./VIII. Jhdt.; Cribiore 1996, 195f. Nr. 95; = TM#65410) bes. van Minnen 1995, 177 Anm. 17; allgem. auch Federici/Mita/Pezzano 1989, wonach etwa bei P. Vat. gr. 51 = T. Varie 1 und 2 (VII. Jhdt.; = TM#39253 bzw. 39254) noch „tracce di supporti di sospensione della tavola" sichtbar seien, „che si ritroveranno anche in altre tavolette" (208); Meyer 2007, 304ff. Anm. 47, vgl. auch 332 App. 1 Nr. 19 die *tabula dealbata* London, BL Add. MS 37516 (IV. Jhdt.; Painter 1967, 110 Nr. 25; Cribiore 1996, 264f. Nr. 364 und pl. LXI; = TM#62680), die an einer der Schmalseiten einen runden Holzgriff mit einem Loch in der Mitte für eine Aufhängeschnur besaß; mit Eisengriff bes. London, BL GRA 1906, 10–20, 2 (V. Jhdt.; Painter 1967, 110 Nr. 26; Cauderlier 1992, 90 Nr. 272; Cribiore 1996, 249 Nr. 310, mit CE 68, 1993, 147 fig. 1; = TM#61042). Derartige Holztafeln sind bis heute im arabischen Raum verbreitet; vgl. dazu knapp schon Cribiore 1996, 66 und bes. Anm. 91.
63 Vgl. zu den pompejanischen Fresken nur Croisille 2010, 72 mit Verweis auf MN 4675 mit pl. XII fig. 11 und 11bis = Helbig 1868, 413f. Nr. 1725; ebenso bei der Nachzeichnung aus dem Grab des Vestorius Priscus, vgl. Croisille 2010, pl. XIV fig. 20; allgem. auch Božič/Feugère 2004, 24, das Kärntner Relief ebd. fig. 19.
64 Vgl. nur T. Leiden Assendelft (175–225; Cauderlier 1992, 76 Nr. 52–58; Cribiore 1996, 273 Nr. 386; = TM#59336) mit Hesseling 1892–93, pl. XIII–XIX sowie bes. 293 zu den Erwerbungsumständen.
65 So Capasso 1992, 225 zu den schon Mitte des XVIII. Jhdts. in der sog. *Villa dei Papiri* in Herculaneum gefundenen, seither jedoch wieder verschollenen Exemplaren.
66 Vgl. nur die Nachzeichnung bei Capasso 1992, 228 fig. 2; so auch bei dem in diesem Zusammenhang vielfach abgebildeten Fresko Helbig 1868, 414 Nr. 1726 = MN 8598 D mit Croisille 2010, pl. XII fig. 12.
67 Hierzu bes. Speidel 1996, 24 mit Anm. 4, der zugleich auf die vielfach bezeugten bildlichen Darstel-

Schreibrichtung aufmerksam gemacht, da sie anders als die in Di- und Triptycha nie-
dergelegten Rechtstexte parallel zu den Schmalseiten, also wie die nachmaligen Co-
dices hochkant beschrieben wurden.[68]

Anders als bei den Schreibtäfelchen wurde für diese selteneren Arten Tafel-
ensembles typischerweise Hartholz genutzt,[69] woraus sich nur wenige Millimeter
dünne, fast blattartige Tafeln fertigen ließen, die bevorzugt zu Polyptycha zusam-
menzubinden waren.[70] Einen solchen Schutzzapfen besitzt auch ein elfenbeinernes

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lungen dieses ξύλον μικρόν verweist; zur „petite proéminence centrale" auf den pompejanischen Fres-
ken auch Croisille 2010, 72 mit Anm. 51, vgl. auch pl. VII fig. 1 und 1bis (seitenverkehrt) mit MN 4668 =
Helbig 1868, 412 Nr. 1720; pl. VIII fig. 2 und 2bis mit MN 9823 = Helbig 1868, 412 Nr. 1721; pl. XI fig. 9 und
9bis mit MN 4676 = Helbig 1868, 413 Nr. 1724; pl. XII fig. 12 mit MN 8598 D = Helbig 1868, 414 Nr. 1726;
vgl. auch Božič/Feugère 2004, 22ff., bes. 24 fig. 18 mit einem Mosaik in Zeugma sowie gleich mehrere
Reliefs des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier aus dem II./III. Jhdt., so etwa die Kontorszene auf der
Vorderseite des in Trier gefundenen Quaders Inv. 1931, 276 mit Heinen 1976, 103f. und Abb. 7 sowie bes.
die Zahlungsszene auf dem sog. Elternpaarpfeiler aus Neumagen Inv. 970 mit Klöckner/Stark 2017,
104 mit Abb. 7 und bes. Anm. 40; zu letzterem auch Minaud 2005, 79 § 121, der in dem geöffneten Co-
dex irrigerweise die Buchstaben D bzw. C (oder CR in Ligatur) hatte erkennen und als Abkürzung für
D(ebitum) bzw. *Cr(editum)* deuten wollen, vgl. auch 353 die stark vergrößerte Abb. im „Annexe". Das
geläufigste Beispiel bietet zweifellos das berühmte, aus fünf bzw. acht Tafeln bestehende Ensemble
der sog. *Casa del Bicentenario* mit Pugliese Carratelli 1950, 270ff., vgl. auch bes. 271 fig. 26 die inzwi-
schen wiederholt abgedruckte Nachzeichnung von M. Paolini (so etwa Diringer 1953, 32 fig. I-8 unten
bzw. Marichal 1992, 179 fig. 2) sowie Pugliese Carratelli 1946, 385 Anm. 1 zu T. Herc. XII; zuletzt bes.
Camodeca 2007, 83 Anm. 11, der das „rettangolino di legno risparmiato al centro delle sottili facce in-
cavate e cerate (spesse appena 1 mm.)" als auffälligstes Charakteristikum dieses Tafeltyps beschreibt.
68 Vgl. nur Pugliese Carratelli 1950, bes. 277f. Zu den unterschiedlichen Schreibrichtungen bereits
Brinkmann 1911, bes. 152ff., der dies ebenfalls mit dem Aufkommen der Codexform in *tabulae multipli-
ces* und *pugillares membranei* verbindet, sich jedoch weder zu den Größenverhältnissen äußert noch
einen textsortentypischen Gebrauch erwägt.
69 So etwa Ahorn im Fall von T. Vindon. 1 (91; = TM#130490), vgl. Speidel 1996, 24 zu dem unter
den Windischer Funden nur hier belegten Tafeltyp A 2; bei den herkulanensischen Zeugnissen da-
gegen regelmäßig Buchsbaum, vgl. allgem. Camodeca 2007, 83 mit Anm. 11, zu den Fundorten bes.
Camodeca 2009, 17f. 31. 32 bzw. Camodeca 2017, 37. 43. 44; anders dagegen Croisille 2010, 72 Anm. 50,
demzufolge „il s'agit bien souvent de bois de cèdre", wenngleich ohne weiteren Beleg; zu *pugillares
citrei* Mart. XIV 3 (= Degni 1998, 125 T 294). Hartholz wurde auch bei den großen Wachstafelensembles
bevorzugt, vgl. nur Federici/Mita/Pezzano 1989, bes. 205f. Die hiernach etwa bei P. Vat. gr. 56 = T.
Varie 9 (VII. Jhdt.; Cauderlier 1992, 85 Nr. 212; = TM#62245) verwendete Rotbuche (*fagus sylvatica*) kam
auch bei P. Lugd. Bat. XXV 15 (um 350; Cauderlier 1992, 78 Nr. 87–91; = TM#61386) zum Einsatz, vgl.
F. A. J. Hoogendijk in der Einl., bes. 87f. mit Anm. 1; nach Hesseling 1892–93, 293 desgleichen auch bei
den in Palmyra erworbenen T. Leiden Assendelft (175–225; Cauderlier 1992, 76 Nr. 52–58; Cribiore 1996,
273 Nr. 386; = TM#59336). Vgl. auch Whitehorne 1994, 280, der dieses Importholz ausdrücklich von
dem lokalen Weidenholz der Holztafeln aus Kellis abgrenzt.
70 Ein solches Artefakt stand offenbar auch dem Briefschreiber in P. Fouad I 74 (VI. Jhdt., mit BL XI 82; =
TM#35377) bei seiner Bitte vor Augen, verschiedene Objekte in Alexandria zu besorgen, darunter
ein δελτάριον τετράγωνον μέγα δεκάπτηχον (l. δεκάπτυχον), τῶν πηχίων (l. πτυχίων) γιγνομένων
λεπτῶν ὡσεὶ φυλλαρίων καὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν ξύλον μικρὸν ἵνα μὴ τὸ κηριο[,ein großes viereckiges
Tafel(ensemble) aus zehn Tafeln, wobei die Täfelchen so dünn gemacht sind wie Blätter, und in der
Mitte davon ein kleines Holz, damit das Wachs nicht [...]' (Z. 10–12). Hierzu bereits J. Scherer im Komm.

Pentaptychon aus Aquileia,[71] dessen Bindung ebenso wie bei manch anderen frühen Elfenbeindiptychen noch über Doppellöcher und nicht die später üblichen Stangenscharniere erfolgte.[72] Nicht selten handelte es sich bei dieser Art Codices um ausgesprochene Miniaturformate, bei denen der Vergleich mit den von Martial erwähnten *pugillares* seit jeher nahelag.[73] Gelegentlich begegnen hierunter auch komplexere Varianten mit verdeckten Scharnierschnürungen,[74] die Berthe van Regemorter aufgrund

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zu Z. 12 der Ed. pr.; auch schon als Parallele benannt von Pugliese Carratelli 1950, 273; Marichal 1992, 173; vgl. auch Whitehorne 1994, bes. 279; Cribiore 1996, 67 Anm. 92, hier ausdrücklich als Ausnahme gekennzeichnet. Die von Cameron 2013, 175 f. geäußerte Skepsis ist insofern jedoch unbegründet.

71 Vgl. die Abb. bei Božič/Feugère 2004, 25 fig. 20; zu *pugillares eborei* auch schon Mart. XIV 5 (= Degni 1998, 126 T 296). Im spätantiken Briefverkehr spielten solche Artefakte durchaus eine Rolle, vgl. nur Augustinus, Ep. XV 1 (390, an seinen wohlhabenden Förderer Romanianus; CCSL XXXI 36) *Non haec epistula sic inopiam chartae indicat, ut membranas saltem abundare testetur. Tabellas eburneas quas habeo auunculo tuo cum letteris misi. Tu enim huic pelliculae facilius ignosces, quia differri non potuit, quod ei scripsi, et tibi non scribere etiam ineptissimum existimaui. Sed tabellas, si quae ibi nostrae sunt, propter huius modi necessitates mittas peto* ,Dieses Schreiben möge dir ebenso wenig den Mangel an Papyrus verkünden wie bezeugen, dass zumindest Pergament in Fülle vorhanden sei. Nur habe ich die elfenbeinernen Täfelchen, die ich besitze, an deinen Onkel mit Briefen geschickt. Du nämlich wirst dieses Stückchen Tierhaut leichter verzeihen, da das, was ich ihm schrieb, nicht aufschiebbar war, und ich dir gar nicht zu schreiben erst recht für völlig unangemessen hielt. Aber wenn dort noch irgendwelche Täfelchen von mir sind, bitte ich sie angesichts derartiger Verpflichtungen wieder zurückzuschicken.' Hierzu auch Cutler 2007, 143 mit besonderer Betonung des Aspekts der Wiederverwendung, der nicht zuletzt aus der Bitte um Rücksendung ersichtlich wird.

72 So vor allem das vielleicht sogar noch aus dem III. Jhdt. datierende Diptychon des Gallienus Concessus, vgl. die seither wiederholt abgedruckte Nachzeichnung bei Visconti 1874, Tav. VIIf.; hierzu wie zu dem ebenfalls noch mit Doppellöchern versehenen Diptychon des Severus David 2007, 18 f. mit 33 Abb. 10 bzw. 11, der dasjenige der Bassii und Euplutii dagegen bereits den „dittici ,nuziali'" des (späteren?) IV. Jhdts. und damit einer Übergangsphase zurechnen will, vgl. 20 mit 33 Abb. 13; die Diptychen des Severus und der Bassii und Euplutii etwa auch bei Cutler 1993, 173 fig. 7 bzw. 177 fig. 10 und 11; ebenso auch noch das „Louvre Venatio Diptych" Paris, Louvre OA 9062 (um 400) mit Cameron 2013, 182 f. Fig. 5. Die mit metallenen Stangenscharnieren verbundenen, i. w. repräsentativen Zwecken dienenden sog. Consulardiptychen der Spätantike waren im Gegensatz dazu nie für die Aufnahme von Schrift gedacht, was sich nach Cutler 1993, 175 nicht nur aus den durchweg fehlenden Schrift- und Wachsspuren, sondern vor allem der für eine Wachsfüllung nicht ausreichenden Eintiefung der Innenseite ergibt; so auch nochmals Cutler 2007, 143 ff., hier auch skeptisch hinsichtlich der früheren Stücke. Ihm folgend jetzt auch Cameron 2013, bes. 191 f., der mit Verweis auf die Differenzierung zwischen πλάκες und κωδίκελλοι in mittelalterlichen Texten überdies auf den Gedanken Reiskes zurückkommt, das Kodizill i. e. S. auf einem anderen Schriftträger eingelegt zu sehen („written on a strip of papyrus enclosed between the two leaves of the diptych, treated as a sort of envelope", 176; Reiske scheinen dabei allerdings eher Pergamente vor Augen gestanden zu haben, vgl. nur das Zitat in Anm. 10 „quae medio suo continebant diploma honoris in membrana exaratum").

73 Vgl. nur statt anderer bes. Dorandi 2007, 18 ff. Lediglich hingewiesen sei auf das schon im V. Jhdt. v. Chr. entstandene Exemplar eines derartigen Miniaturcodex, das kürzlich in der sog. *Tomb of the Musician* im Athener Vorort Daphni entdeckt wurde; vgl. dazu Pöhlmann/West 2012, bes. 3 ff.

74 So bei den von Pugliese Carratelli 1950, 270 ff. beschriebenen Ensembles aus der sog. *Casa del Bicentenario*, aber auch im Fall des Militärdiploms T. Vindon. 1 (91; = TM#130490), vgl. nur Speidel 1996, 91 in der Einl. sowie die eingehende Beschreibung der verdeckten Schnürungen 29 f. mit Bild 11,

der Analogien in der Fixierung der Buchdeckel als die eigentlichen Vorläufer des gebundenen Buches ansah.[75]

Damit kommen wir wieder auf die Frage der Bindetechniken zurück, die nach Szirmai den Ausschlag für die von ihm verfochtene strikte Trennung von Tafelensembles und regelrechten Codices gaben. Wie zumal die letztgenannten Beispiele zeigen, fällt das Bild jedoch weitaus weniger eindeutig aus, als er es mit seinem Beharren auf der grundsätzlichen Andersartigkeit hatte wahrhaben wollen.

Zum einen blieben die Bindungen ohnehin nur selten erhalten. Bei den *Tabulae Assendelftianae* oder auch dem heute in Gießen aufbewahrten römerzeitlichen Diptychon etwa ist unklar, ob es sich um die originalen Schnüre handelt, können sie doch ebenso gut nur zu Demonstrationszwecken ergänzt worden sein.[76] Zweifelsfrei neueren Datums sind dagegen die Lederschnüre an einem aus fünf Tafeln bestehenden Ensemble in London, bei dem das Wachs vor der Deponierung als Grabbeigabe entfernt worden war.[77] Doch selbst wenn die originalen Bindungen bei der Auffindung noch vorhanden waren, wurden sie nicht selten ohne jede weitere Dokumentation beseitigt. Dies war schließlich selbst bei den regelrechten Codices häufiger der Fall – so schon während des langen Weges durch viele verschiedene Hände, bis sie endlich an ihrem heutigen Aufbewahrungsort anlangten, aber oft sogar noch im Verlauf der Restaurierungsarbeiten.[78] Denn das Interesse an solchen Details war (und ist) meist gering, was die ohnehin schon ungünstige Situation zusätzlich verschärft.[79] Entspre-

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zu den entsprechenden Tafeltypen A 2 und A 3 auch die Nachzeichnungen 24 f.; ebenso P. Giss. inv. 298 (I.–III. Jhdt.; = TM#131543), vgl. nur die Abb. bei Gundel 1960, 7 sowie Büll 1969, Taf. 2 (hierzu auch unten Anm. 76); so nach der Beschreibung von Painter 1967, 108 Nr. 19 möglicherweise so auch bei der Tafel London, GRA 1906, 10–22, 13 aus Oxyrhynchos. Nichts dergleichen dagegen unter den Allerweltsfunden von Eschenz oder Köln, was die Ausnahmestellung nur bestätigt.

75 Vgl. van Regemorter 1954, 16 f. mit Verweis auf eine seinerzeit in Saal 29, Vitrine 29 des Ägyptischen Museums Kairo aufbewahrte Wachstafel; van Regemorter 1955, 2; ähnlich auch Marichal 1992, 173 f. mit – allerdings nicht weiter spezifiziertem – Verweis auf P. Bodmer II (𝔓66; IV. Jhdt.; = TM#61627).

76 Bei den *Tabulae Assendelftianae* zurückhaltend schon Hesseling 1892–93, demzufolge die Tafeln bei ihrer Ankunft in Leiden „were bound together with common string, which could lay no claim whatever to antiquity" (293); zu P. Giss. inv. 298 (I.–III. Jhdt.; = TM#131543) vgl. nur die Abb. bei Gundel 1960, 7; Büll 1969, Taf. 2, der jedoch nichts zur Bindung bemerkt und lediglich feststellt, das 9,3 × 11,6 cm große Diptychon sei „also grösser als ein Pugillar" (13); Marichal 1992, 181 fig. 4, vgl. auch bereits 173. Die gleiche Art Schnur scheint zudem nach Büll 1969, Taf. 3 f. auch für P. Giss. inv. 299 descr. verwendet, wobei nach der eingehenden Beschreibung 13 f. offenbar keine gesicherten Kenntnisse über die originale Bindung dieser Tafel des Typs S 5 nach Speidel 1996, 24 ff. vorliegen.

77 Vgl. Petrie 1927, 66 zu Nr. 66 „The wax has been removed before burial. Leather thongs for hinges added recently", mit Abb. auf pl. LIX (die oben in Anm. 57 erwähnten Nrn. 67, 68 und 70 darin eingelegt).

78 Eindrücklich schon Ibscher 1920, 39; vgl. etwa auch van Regemorter 1955, 3; Szirmai 1999, bes. 7 zum Fund von Nag Hammadi sowie 11 f. und *passim*; zuletzt Nongbri 2014, 25 f., bes. Anm. 60 am Beispiel von P. Bodmer II (𝔓66; IV. Jhdt.; = TM#61627), wobei die Stoßseufzer teilweise unüberhörbar sind.

79 Ohnedies pflegen technische Detailfragen wie die Art der Bindung außerhalb der allgemeinen Wahrnehmung zu liegen und meist nur Spezialisten zugänglich zu sein, was oft selbst für die Restauratoren, aber mehr noch für die damit befassten Wissenschaftler gilt. Für bezeichnend ist etwa zu

chend sind unsere Kenntnisse überaus mager, für apodiktische Aussagen welcher Art auch immer jedenfalls denkbar ungeeignet.[80]

Zum anderen kamen im Urkundswesen sicherlich auch die von Szirmai angesprochenen Metalldrähte zum Einsatz, so vor allem bei den aus Bronze gefertigten Militärdiplomen.[81] Bei Holz- und Wachstafeln sind diesbezüglich jedoch durchaus Zweifel am Platze,[82] erst recht im Fall verdeckter Scharnierschnürungen, wo es sich von selbst verbat. Starre Ringe – dann sogar aus Silber – scheinen allenfalls bei kostbareren Artefakten wie den elfenbeinernen Diptycha belegt[83] und stellen ebenso die Ausnahme dar wie die tierischen Materialien – möglicherweise Katzendarm –, die Szirmai im Zusammenhang mit den äthiopischen Codices anführt,[84] oder auch die Seidenschnüre, die ein kaiserzeitliches Holztafelensemble zusammenhielten.[85] In der Regel handelt

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halten, dass die Frage der Bindung weder bei Turner 1977 noch in einem der in den Band *Les débuts du codex* aufgenommenen Beiträge berührt erscheint. Dasselbe gilt auch noch für Arbeiten jüngster Zeit wie das erst kürzlich von Hartmann 2015 erstellte Inventar, wo sich allenfalls punktuelle Erwähnungen finden, oder etwa auch Ammirati 2013. Selbst Meyer 2007, bei der die Positionierung der Löcher durchaus eine Rolle spielt, behandelt nicht die Bindung im engeren Sinne.

80 Vgl. nur die offen zugegebenen Unsicherheiten selbst bei Szirmai 1999, 22f.

81 So knapp Rudolf Haensch, dem ich hierfür wie auch für die reichlichen Hinweise auf weiterführende Literatur herzlich zu danken habe: „Die beiden Tafeln werden eng durch einen in sich verzwirbelten Draht verschlossen, auf den die Siegel kommen (nirgends erhalten), darüber dann der Metallschuber in Form eines Kästchens. Der Schuber blieb selten erhalten, aber oft ist seine Existenz noch an der unterschiedlichen Korrosion des so geschützten Teils der Diplome zu erkennen" (Mail vom 11.12.2017). Vgl. etwa auch die eindrucksvollen Abbildungen bei Pferdehirt 2004, Nr. 10 mit Taf. 14 und 16; Nr. 16 mit Taf. 29f.; Nr. 39 mit Taf. 72 und 75; Nr. 41 mit Taf. 77; Nr. 55 mit Taf. 104 sowie Nr. 62 mit Taf. 122.

82 Zurückhaltend jedenfalls Tomlin 2016, 27 zu den Londoner Täfelchen: „The binding cord and the loops, threaded or poked through the holes, were probably twine made from hemp or linen, but wire may also have been used, as with the Trawsfynydd tablets (Tomlin 2001, 145)", wo er jedoch lediglich den – insoweit kaum zuverlässigen – Fundbericht aus dem XIX. Jhdt. zitiert, wonach die 10 oder 12 Tafeln des von Torfstechern entdeckten Testaments „were joined together with a wire which was *entirely corroded* when it was first found"; ebenfalls nur vermutet – hier aufgrund möglicher Rostspuren – bei AE 1998, 989 (75–125; = TM#211224), vgl. Wiegels 1982, 347 mit Anm. 2. Dennoch scheint dies allgemeiner Überzeugung zu entsprechen, vgl. etwa Martin 1960, 5; Widmann 1967, 591; Cameron 2013, 175; wohlgemerkt ohne jede weitere Begründung knapp gar van Regemorter 1954, 16: „En effet, le polyptique est un assemblage de tablettes au moyen d'anneaux de métal." Insofern erscheint nur folgerichtig, wenn sie in van Regemorter 1955, 2 explizit den negativen Befund vermerkt; ebenso auch Pugliese Carratelli 1950, 272, der in Pugliese Carratelli 1948, 166 sogar noch ausdrücklich auf die – teilweise noch in Fragmenten erhaltenen – Bindungen mit dem vorschriftsmäßigen *triplex linum* hingewiesen hatte.

83 So etwa bei dem berühmten Diptychon des Gallienus Concessus (III. Jhdt.?), vgl. nur den Fundbericht von Visconti 1874, 102.

84 Vgl. Szirmai 1999, 22 „[...] a material of animal origin (catgut?), often mentioned in connection with threads in Ethiopian codices".

85 Nämlich die acht Tafeln von BL Add. MS 37533 (III. Jhdt., mit Kenyon 1909, pl. VI; Cauderlier 1992, 74 Nr. 11–18; Cribiore 1996, 272 Nr. 385 und pl. LXX–LXXII; Meyer 2007, 332 App. 1 Nr. 17; = TM#64510), vgl. Kenyon 1909, 32 „fastened together by silken cords passed through two holes in one of the long sides".

es sich vielmehr, wie auch der römische Terminus technicus *linum* anzeigt, um Fäden aus Pflanzenfasern und näherhin Hanf- oder Leinenschnüre.[86] In dieselbe Richtung weisen nicht nur noch vorhandene Reste bei den pompejanischen Täfelchen,[87] sondern auch die vielfach gefundenen Siegelkapseln, die teilweise sogar noch Faserabdrücke erkennen lassen.[88] Damit sollten sich die bei den Codices eingesetzten – vorzugsweise gedrehten, vielleicht auch gewachsten – Heftfäden entgegen Szirmai nicht grundsätzlich von den mehr oder weniger dünnen Kordeln unterscheiden, die auch bei den Holz- und Wachstafelensembles Verwendung fanden.[89]

Demnach sind die Differenzen zwischen verschiedenen Artefaktkonstruktionen jedenfalls nicht an den Materialien festzumachen, aus denen die Tafeln oder Blätter bestanden und mit denen sie zusammengebunden wurden. Vielmehr scheint die eigentliche Trennlinie zwischen einem relativ simplen Grundformat und raffinierteren Modellen verlaufen zu sein. Zu den ersteren zählten die ubiquitären Schreibtäfelchen und Rechtsdokumente, die sich aus den nahezu überall verfügbaren Rohstoffen Weichholz und Wachs herstellen ließen, sowie die feierlichere Variante der in Bronze ausgefertigten Militärdiplome. Diese postkartengroßen Stücke wurden grundsätzlich im Querformat beschrieben und über einzeln gebohrte Löcher mit Schnüren verbunden, dies bei den Siegelschnüren gleich mehrfach, um dem vom S. C. geforderten *triplex linum* zu genügen. Zwar kamen bei manchen Urkundstypen wie etwa Testamenten gelegentlich auch umfangreichere Ensembles vor, doch treten sie uns vornehmlich in der Form von Diptychen, dann auch Triptychen entgegen und repräsentieren letztlich das – auch in der Evidenz weit überwiegende – Normalformat.

Anders verhält es sich mit den gern aus Hartholz gearbeiteten Polyptycha, die regelmäßig über Doppellöcher zusammengebunden wurden. Namentlich die aus extrem dünnen, fast blattartigen Tafeln bestehenden Kleinformate verfügten dabei oft über besondere Details wie das ξύλον μικρόν zum Schutze der Schrift. Vielleicht gehörten solche Schutzzapfen sogar routinemäßig zu jedem qualitätvolleren Wachstafelensemble.[90] Der gleiche Gedanke stand zweifellos auch bei den – hier ledernen – „protecting pads" an den aus dem IV. Jhdt. datierenden Holzcodices Pate, die 1988

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86 Vgl. bes. das im Jahr 61 ergangene S. C. mit den Zitaten oben in Anm. 27, weswegen Wenger 1953, 75 auch nur von „Bindfaden" bzw. „Bindeschnur" spricht; zu den üblichen Materialien etwa auch Tegtmeier 2016, 50.

87 Vgl. schon Pugliese Carratelli 1948, 166 sowie die Abb. bei Camodeca 1995, 69 fig. 9, möglicherweise auch 64 fig. 6.

88 Hierzu jetzt grundlegend Furger/Wartmann/Riha 2009, bes. 19 f. mit Abb. 5.

89 So auch schon Sharpe 1996, 112.

90 Vgl. nur die Darstellungen auf dem sog. Diptychon des Probianus (um 400) mit Cutler 2007, 157 fig. 9 sowie bes. das neunteilige Wachstafelensemble London, BL Add. MS 33270 (hierin auch Shorthand Manuals T, III./IV. Jhdt.; = TM#64313) mit Painter 1967, 105 f. Nr. 11 „Each recessed panel has a small rectangular ridge left standing in the centre". Zu diesem 22,3 cm hohen und 16,7 cm breiten, offenbar immer noch nicht vollständig publizierten Ensemble, das mit Hilfe lederner Schnüre erneut über drei Doppellöcher zusammengebunden und dann mit einem Lederriemen umwickelt war, etwa Diringer 1953, 31 ff. und bes. 32 fig. I-8 oben; Milne 1934, 7 f. und pl. IIIf.; Brown 1994, 4 fig. 3.

in situ in der Oasenstadt Kellis in der Libyschen Wüste zutage traten. Zwar wurden die Lederstückchen erst sekundär und meist nur auf den Rückseiten der geglätteten und mit Tinte beschriebenen Holztafeln aufgeklebt,[91] doch verfolgten sie offenkundig denselben Zweck, den weiteren Abrieb der Schrift zu verhindern. Hieran wird eine besondere Wertschätzung offenbar, die diesen Artefakten gleichsam eine Mittelstellung zwischen der alltäglichen Schriftproduktion und der eigentlichen Buchkultur zuwies, als deren Inbegriff zu dieser Zeit bekanntlich immer noch die Rolle erscheint.

Eine weitere Gemeinsamkeit stellt die Schreibrichtung dar, wurden doch sowohl die Polyptycha der Vesuvstädte wie auch die spätantiken Holzcodices aus den Oasen anders als die üblichen Schreibtafeln parallel zu den Schmalseiten, also hochkant beschrieben; zudem besitzen die einen wie die anderen die schon bekannten senkrecht gestellten Doppellöcher.[92] Kaum zufällig treffen wir beide Phänomene auch bei Meyers ,account-tablets' an, die den alten römischen Codices schon von ihrer Situierung im Akten- und Rechnungswesen her zweifelsohne am nächsten standen. Andere Eigenschaften teilen die Holztafelensembles aus Kellis wiederum mit den nachmaligen Pergamenthandschriften, so vor allem die Verwendung der Tinte, aber auch die Markierung des Schriftspiegels durch Blindlinien.[93] Vielleicht am auffälligsten ist ihr ungewöhnlich schmales Hochformat, doch hatte schon John L. Sharpe auf die

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91 So bes. bei dem sog. Isokrates-Codex mit den Reden *Ad Demonicum*, *Ad Nicoclem* und *Nicocles* P. Kell. III Gr. 95 (360–380?; = TM#61380) auf sämtlichen Versoseiten sowie fol. 8r und 9r; hierzu bes. Sharpe 1997a, 18, wonach die Anbringung dieser „protecting pads" wohl bereits als Reaktion auf einen entsprechenden Abrieb zu deuten sei, sowie fig. 1. 7. 10ff. 14ff.; vgl. auch schon Sharpe 1992, bes. 133f. mit fig. 14 und *passim*; Sharpe 1996, 123 mit 118 fig. 11 sowie 125 fig. 20a–21.

92 So bei den Holzcodices aus den Oasen außer dem schon genannten sog. Isokrates-Codex P. Kell. III Gr. 95 (360–380?; = TM#61380) sowie dem gemeinsam damit aufgefundenen sog. *Kellis Agricultural Account Book* (KAB) P. Kell. IV Gr. 96 (361–364 oder 376–379; = TM#23651) auch bereits SB XIV 11938 + XX 14884 (246–249 bzw. 326; = TM#15480 + 23803) mit Parsons 1971, pl. XLI; vgl. auch – teilweise in Wiederverwendung und sämtlich aus dem IV. Jhdt. – P. Kell. Lit. I mit den sekundär zusammengebundenen T. Kell. Copt. 2 und 3 descr. (= TM#108331f., mit Sharpe 1991, 9f.), 4 (= TM#108333) und 7 (= TM#108336), hierzu auch die Abb. am Ende des Bandes; ebenso eine Reihe einzelner Tafeln wie etwa P. Kell. I Gr. 61 (= TM#33316), 82 (= TM#109540), 88 (= TM#64435), 84 (= TM#97894, Rekto) bzw. P. Kell. V Copt. 48 (= TM#85899, Verso), 10 (= TM#85861) sowie den offenbar deutlich früheren P. Kell. I Gr. 62 (15.1. 275?; = TM#20318); auch P. Kell. Lit. II und bes. P. Kell. Gr. 98 (275–350, mit pl. 33f.; = TM#64303) mit einem manichäischen Gebet. Zu dieser 31,2 cm hohen und knapp 9 cm breiten, ursprünglich wohl ebenfalls aus einem Ensemble stammenden Holztafel eingehend schon Jenkins 1995, 243ff. in der Ed. pr., zur Schreibrichtung in den Polyptycha der Vesuvstädte oben Anm. 68 mit Text. Eine Ausnahme stellt insoweit der in Hope/Worp 2006, 233–247 publizierte, nur 5,5 × 8 cm große Miniaturcodex mit einer Homerparodie dar (325–375; = TM#91945), dessen 4 Tafeln zwar ebenfalls mit zwei Doppellöchern versehen, jedoch im Querformat beschrieben sind.

93 So bes. in dem sog. Isokrates-Codex P. Kell. III Gr. 95 (360–380?; = TM#61380), vgl. bereits Sharpe 1992, 136 sowie Sharpe 1996, 120 mit 124 fig. 19. 126; ebenso auch P. Kell. Gr. 98 (275–350; = TM#64303) mit P. Kell. Lit. II, pl. 3f. Dies ließ zugleich Platz für Marginalglossen, vgl. nur die bes. auf fol. 1v sowie fol. 2r erhaltenen Scholien zu *Ad Demonicum* mit P. Kell. III Gr. 95, S. 56f. sowie die zugehörigen Abb. am Ende des Bandes.

bemerkenswerten Analogien zu den Kolumnenformaten der großen vierspaltigen Bibelcodices aufmerksam gemacht.[94]

Bei der Bindung als solcher haben wir, wie gesehen, fast durchweg mit Leinenschnüren zu tun, die zu dieser Zeit typischerweise durch Doppellöcher gezogen wurden. Dabei zeichneten sich die koptischen Codices dadurch aus, dass die Heftung mit separaten Fäden, die danach einzeln verknotet, fixiert und ggf. sogar versiegelt wurden, durch jeweils eines dieser Doppellöcher verlief und so ein regelrechter Buchblock entstand.[95] Wie schon Szirmai angemerkt hatte, sind in diesem Bereich die größten Differenzen zu konstatieren. Denn im Unterschied dazu wurde bei den Holzcodices aus Kellis jeweils nur eine einzige, weit über 1 m lange Leinenschnur eingesetzt, die man von oben nach unten und wieder zurück erst durch das obere, dann das untere Löcherpaar führte und deren Enden man daraufhin mit Hilfe eine Zugknotens auf der Vorderseite zusammenband, um den verbleibenden Rest schließlich zur Sicherung mehrfach um das Tafelensemble herumzuschlingen.[96]

Zugknoten wie dieser hatten den Vorteil, grundsätzlich jederzeit lösbar zu sein, so dass je nach Länge der Schnur gegebenenfalls auch zusätzliche Tafeln eingefügt werden konnten. Im Fall des Isokrates-Codex hatte sich tatsächlich im Laufe der Beschriftung ein solcher Bedarf ergeben, so dass man die acht Tafeln des Polyptychon an vorletzter Stelle noch rechtzeitig um eine neunte ergänzte.[97] Dafür wurden nicht nur neue Doppellöcher gebohrt, sondern auch die v-förmig angebrachten Kerben am Rücken versetzt, die die korrekte Abfolge der Tafeln gewährleisten sollten.[98] Sie entsprechen damit den heutigen Flattermarken, was als weiteres Indiz für die Verwandtschaft von Codices aus hölzernen und flexiblen Materialien anzusehen ist.

Ein solches Verfahren würde bestens auch zu den Rezeptbüchern passen, die eben aus flexiblerem Material – meist wohl Pergament, in den Anfängen aber vielleicht

94 Sharpe 1992, 137; Sharpe 1996, 127.

95 So schon van Regemorter 1955, 4f.; allgem. Sharpe 1996, bes. 111; Szirmai 1999, 18ff., vgl. auch 17 fig. 2.1 [g] bzw. [h]; zuletzt Nongbri 2014, 27f.; Nongbri 2018, 31ff.

96 Vgl. bes. die detaillierten Beschreibungen von Sharpe 1996, zum KAB bes. 114f. (Doppellöcher) sowie 115 (Bindung mit 139,1 cm langer Leinenschnur) mit 109f. fig. 1–3 sowie 116 fig. 7, zum Isokrates-Codex bes. 119f. (Doppellöcher und Bindung mit 197,3 cm langer Leinenschnur) mit 118f. fig. 10f. sowie 125 fig. 20a; zum Verfahren als solchem bes. 115: „The end of cord which had been drawn through the boards was tied in a slip knot onto the remaining length of cord and drawn up tight [...] The loose cord was then wrapped around the stack of eight leaves to hold them together"; vgl. auch Sharpe 1991, 9; Sharpe 1992, bes. 131ff. mit fig. 1 und *passim*; Sharpe 1997a, 18ff.; Sharpe 1997b, 20; zur Umschlingung noch im Originalzustand Sharpe 1991, 9f. und bes. 10 mit Abb. Dies lässt an die für die frühen, vorzugsweise koptischen Codices typischen „wrapping bands" denken, vgl. nur Szirmai 1999, 8f. 26ff., bes. 8 fig. 1.2.

97 Vgl. nur Sharpe 1996, 117; Sharpe 1997a, 15f.; Sharpe 1997b, 20; allgem. auch Whitehorne 1996, 245.

98 Zu diesen „collational" bzw. „ordering marks" (zur Begrifflichkeit Sharpe 1997a, 10 Anm. 5) oder auch nur „notches" allgem. Sharpe 1996, 115f. mit 117 fig. 8 (KAB) bzw. 119 mit 121f. fig. 15–17 (Isokrates-Codex); vgl. auch Sharpe 1992, 132f. mit 138f. fig. 4–6 (KAB) bzw. 141 fig. 13f. (Isokrates-Codex); Sharpe 1997a, 10f. („as usual with wooden codices", 10) und bes. 16f.; Whitehorne 1996, 245.

tatsächlich, wie ihr Name διφθέραι nahelegt, dünnen Lederstücken – bestanden. Denn wie schon Andorlini ausführte, ging es hier ganz wesentlich darum, einzelne Blätter bei Bedarf herausnehmen und neue Rezepte am richtigen Ort einfügen zu können. Ein Beleg für ein derartiges Rezeptbuch scheint jetzt sogar erstmals greifbar zu sein, nämlich in zwei kürzlich edierten Fragmenten eines Pergamentcodex mit medizinischen Texten aus Antinoupolis. Dem gut sichtbaren Falz zufolge treffen wir hier jedenfalls keine Bifolien, sondern – in diesem Fall beidseitig beschriftete – Einzelblätter und nicht zuletzt erneut die charakteristischen Doppellöcher an.[99]

Fasst man die bisherigen Erkenntnisse zusammen, stellen Doppellöcher demnach ein typisches Phänomen des zeitgenössischen Buchwesens dar und können geradezu als ‚Ohrmarke‘ der frühen Codices gelten. Die Bindung durch auf dem Seitenrand angebrachte Doppellöcher war jedenfalls die Methode der Wahl, wann immer es darum ging, lose Einzelblätter zu einem Ganzen zusammenzufügen und auf diese Weise Codices des bislang nicht erfassten Typs C zu schaffen.[100] Dies galt wohlgemerkt vollkommen unabhängig vom Material, betraf es doch Holz, Leder, Pergament oder Papyrus gleichermaßen.

Indessen sollte sich das Verfahren keineswegs nur auf Einzelblätter beschränken, sondern durchaus auch bei Bifolien zur Anwendung kommen. Denn die Bindung mit Hilfe von Doppellöchern auf dem Seitenrand lässt sich ebenso bei Codices der beiden bisher geläufigen Typen nachweisen. So handelte es sich bei dem sog. *Harris Homer Codex* mit seinen insgesamt neun aufeinander gelegten und anschließend als Ganzes gefalteten Doppelblättern, wie bereits erwähnt, um einen Codex des Typs A.[101] Dasselbe gilt für den berühmten, ursprünglich aus 28 Bifolien bestehenden *Codex Barcinonensis*, in dem wir eine unserer ungewöhnlichsten Zusammenstellungen klassischer wie christlicher Texte in griechischer und lateinischer Sprache besitzen.[102] In

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99 PSI Ant. inv. 320 A (III. Jhdt.; mit Del Corso/Pintaudi 2015, 10–17 Nr. 3; = TM#642455), bes. fr. 2 (5,4 × 2 cm) und 3 (6,3 × 1,7 cm) mit Tav. II fig. 6f.; das mit etwas breiterem Rand ausgestattete fr. 1 mit Tav. II fig. 4f. gehörte offenbar einem anderen Pergamentcodex an.

100 Vgl. in diese Richtung auch schon Martin 1960, 5 im Zusammenhang mit dem Menander-Codex P. Bodm. XXV + XXVI + IV + P. Köln VIII 331 + P. Duk. inv. 775 (IV. Jhdt.; = TM#61594): „Nous aurions ainsi à faire, non à un véritable codex, mais à un polyptique de papyrus [...] un spécimen de cette forme primitive de livre constitué par une liasse de feuillets isolés maintenus ensemble par des fils noués passant par les trous percés dans les marges"; ihm folgend auch Widmann 1967, 591. Allerdings scheint dies weder als eigene Kategorie erfasst noch überhaupt weiterverfolgt worden zu sein, wohl weil sich die seitlichen Doppellöcher wenig später als bloße Reparaturmaßnahme erwiesen. Sollte allerdings Kasser 1971 das Richtige getroffen haben, wonach diese letzte Bindung in bewusst archaisierender Form erfolgte, wird man gerade auch die Entscheidung für senkrecht gestellte Doppellöcher als solche für aussagekräftig halten; hierzu schon oben Anm. 44 und 46.

101 Vgl. schon oben Anm. 47 ff. mit Text.

102 P. Barc. 126–178, 292, 338 + P. Duke inv. 798 (2. Hälfte IV. Jhdt.; = TM#59453), wovon immerhin 18 Doppelblätter nahezu vollständig erhalten blieben. Zu Inhalt und Kodikologie bes. Torallas Tovar/ Worp, Einl. zu P. Monts. Roca I, 15 ff.; Gil/Torallas Tovar, Einl. zu P. Monts. Roca III, 16 ff.; zuletzt Orsini 2015, 65 f.

diesem Fall waren außer den pergamentenen Schirtingstreifen sogar Teile der Bindung erhalten geblieben, die danach wie bei den koptischen Codices mit zwei separat geführten Heftfäden durch zwei Doppellöcher erfolgte.[103]

Es trifft jedoch ebenso bei der Lagenbindung zu, wie sich an dem berühmten 𝔓45 bzw. P. Chester Beatty I erweist. Hier haben wir es mit einem ursprünglich aus 110 Doppelblättern bestehenden Codex des Typs B zu tun, wovon lediglich 30 Bifolien und auch diese meist nur fragmentarisch erhalten sind.[104] Bei fol. 10 bis 14 blieben immerhin auch die Innenränder mitsamt den bestens erkennbaren Doppellöchern bewahrt, wonach jeweils ein Doppelblatt nach dem anderen beschrieben, gefaltet und sodann als *unio* über das vorangehende Bifolium gelegt worden war. Wie schon Berthe van Regemorter bemerkte, musste diese Anordnung eine Heftung über die Seitenränder geradezu erzwingen,[105] was durch die beiden Doppelblätter der Sammlung Janda mit der koptischen *Oratio Mariae ad Bartos* nochmals in wünschenswerter Weise bestätigt wird.[106]

Nach alldem wird man die hölzernen ‚account-tablets‘ als Grundstufe des nachmaligen Codex ansehen müssen, von der die Entwicklung zu unserem heutigen Buchformat ihren Ausgang nahm. Die Charakteristika des hieraus gebildeten Codextyps C stellen die Beschriftung parallel zur Schmalseite und also hochkant sowie eine Bindung mit Hilfe senkrecht gestellter Doppellöcher auf dem Seitenrand dar. Die entsprechenden Codices sind noch heute in unserer Evidenz zu fassen, sei es in den meist außerhalb Ägyptens gefundenen, oft kleinformatigen Wachstafelensembles aus Hartholz oder Elfenbein oder auch in den Holztafelensembles aus Kellis.

Zu noch unbekanntem Zeitpunkt wurde diese Konstruktion auf biegsamere Materialien übertragen, wo wir sie nicht nur bei Einzelblättern wie den medizinischen Pergamenten aus Antinoupolis, sondern auch bei Doppelblättern antreffen, sei es in der Form des ‚cahier unique‘ oder einzeln aufeinandergelegt. Ähnlich wie bei den Polyptycha aus den Oasen wird auch hier zunächst mit grundsätzlich variablen Ensembles zu rechnen sein, die gegenüber dem herkömmlichen Rollenformat den Vorzug größtmöglicher Flexibilität besaßen, was die Einfügung oder Entnahme einzelner

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103 Hierzu bes. Torallas Tovar/Worp, Einl. zu P. Monts. Roca I, 16f.; Gil/Torallas Tovar, Einl. zu P. Monts. Roca III, 19; zu den Doppellöchern vgl. bes. die abschließenden Seiten der – offenbar mit den Tetraden des Kurzschriftkommentars zu verbindenden – griechischen Wortliste P. Monts. Roca III, fol. 171–178 mit pl. XI–XXVI.

104 Hierzu wie zum folgenden schon Kenyon, Einl. zu P. Chester Beatty I (200–250?; = TM#61826), bes. vi; van Regemorter 1955, 3f.; Szirmai 1999, 22; vgl. auch Turner 1977, 60f. mit Tab. 7 sowie jetzt http://www.csntm.org/manuscript/view/ga_p45 (Zugriff am 07.06.2018).

105 So van Regemorter 1955, 4 „aucune autre solution n'était possible"; zu *uniones* als dem bei späten dokumentarischen Codices typischen Format auch Gascou 1989, 79f.

106 Vgl. Gießen, P. Iand. 9 A-B (V./VI. Jhdt.; = TM#102075), wo wir zumindest im oberen Bereich der 13 cm hohen Blätter erneut auf Doppellöcher treffen; hierzu schon Widmann 1967, 591ff. und Abb. 9 mit der Bildunterschrift „Zeigt eine besondere Heftung des Textes". Vgl. auch Kropp 1965, 5 und Taf. 1–4, dessen Vergleich mit PGM XIII (IV. Jhdt.; = TM#64446) sich freilich nur auf die Einordnung als ‚cahier‘ bzw. Codex des Typs A bezieht.

Blätter bei gleichwohl relativ stabiler Bindung betraf. Insofern überrascht nicht, dass immer wieder gerade die ‚note-books' wie das berühmte lederne Exemplar der Berliner Sammlung als Vorläufer der späteren Codices angeführt wurden. Nur hingewiesen sei darauf, dass es Codices zumindest des Typs A durchaus auch ohne jeden Versuch einer Heftung gab.[107]

Dass diese Ableitung von den ‚account-tablets' das Richtige trifft, wird außerdem durch die Beobachtung gestützt, dass der Siegeszug des Codex in Ägypten in diokletianischer Zeit einsetzt. An dem altvertrauten Beschreibstoff des Papyrus hielt man zwar weiterhin fest. Doch deutet alles darauf, dass die Umstellung von der Rollen- auf die Codexform Teil der von den Tetrarchen eingeleiteten Verwaltungsreformen war. Im Zuge dessen scheint man jedenfalls auch das Format der Akten ‚romanisiert' zu haben, wobei diese Umstellung schließlich das Leitbild vorgab.[108]

Selbst wenn die frühe und offenbar unbeirrbare Vorliebe der Christen für diese Buchform kaum zu verkennen ist, wird man die Entstehung des Codex demnach aber nicht oder zumindest nicht primär in christlichem Kontext zu verorten haben; letztlich ist sogar zu fragen, wie weit den Christen bei seiner Durchsetzung überhaupt die ihnen bisher stets unterstellte zentrale Rolle zukam. Gerade auch in dieser Hinsicht mag ein neuerlicher Blick auf die Holztafelensembles aus Kellis äußerst lehrreich sein, da sie nicht nur ganz verschiedene Textsorten bieten, sondern auch unterschiedlichen religiösen Gruppen entstammen. All dies ist aber nochmals eine ganz andere Frage von eigenem Recht, die in diesem Rahmen endgültig nicht mehr zu behandeln ist.

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107 So etwa der von der Familie des Alopex privat angelegte P. Panop. 19 mit Steuerquittungen der Jahre 339 bis 345 (= TM#16164), der aus den makulierten Verwaltungsrollen P. Panop. Beatty 1 (9. 298; = TM#44881) und 2 (1.–3. 300; = TM#44882) gefertigt wurde und unter diesem Namen sehr viel geläufiger ist; zur fehlenden Bindung schon T. C. Skeat, Einl. zu P. Panop. Beatty, vii („leaves, unsecured by any form of sewing") und bes. die Abb. auf pl. I. Bei den großen Bibelcodices des IV. Jhdts., die üblicherweise mit der bei Euseb., Vita Const. IV 36 überlieferten mutmaßlichen Bitte Kaiser Constantins um 50 qualitätvolle σωμάτια in Verbindung gebracht werden (vgl. stellvertretend für andere nur – durchaus skeptisch – Gamble 1995, 79 ff. und die 278 Anm. 133 zusammengestellte Lit.), steht im Übrigen noch dahin, zu welcher Zeit und an welchem Ort sie erstmals tatsächlich gebunden wurden.
108 So überzeugend Gascou 1992, bes. 73 ff. Vgl. zuletzt auch Bagnall 2009, bes. 87 ff.

Appendices

Beispiele von Holz- und Wachstafeln bzw. -tafelensembles mit Doppellöchern (ohne die Evidenz der Oasen).

Appendix A: Tafeln mit jeweils zwei Doppellöchern.

Tafeln	Datum	Cauderlier 1992	Cribiore 1996	TM#
1) SB IV 7451 = C. Ptol. Sklav. II 129; Meyer 2007, 333 App. 2 Nr. 1 (vgl. auch oben Anm. 57)	III. Jhdt. v. Chr.	76 Nr. 59–65	–	5692
2) P. Berol. 10508–10512; Meyer 2007, 331f. App. 1 Nr. 4–7	II. Jhdt.	89 Nr. 259–262	254 Nr. 326–329 mit pl. XLV–XLVIII	60391
3) SB XIV 11938 + XX 14884 mit JEA 57, 1971, pl. XLI; Sharpe 1996, 129 Anm. 47	246–249 bzw. 1./2. 326	75 Nr. 28–36	–	15480 + 23803
4) London, BL GRA 88, 9–20, 72–78 descr.; Petrie 1889, 12 mit pl. xvii; Painter 1967, 108 Nr. 18	III./IV. Jhdt.	–	–	
5) T. Varie 23–32, mit Tav. XXXIV–XLII	300–325	79 Nr. 107–111; vgl. schon 1989, 53ff. Nr. A	276f. Nr. 394	64510
6) P. Lugd. Bat. XXV 15, mit pl. XI–XIV	um 350	78 Nr. 87–91	–	61386
7) P. Lugd. Bat. XXV 16, mit pl. XV	IV. Jhdt.	–	247f. Nr. 305	64448
8) Marseille, T. Borely inv. 1564–1567	IV. Jhdt.	81 Nr. 132–135	274 Nr. 389 mit pl. LXXIII f.	64462
9) P. Berol. 14000 = SB III 6215–6218	IV./V. Jhdt.	75 Nr. 19–27	280f. Nr. 404 mit pl. LXXVII f.	64557
10) SB XVIII 13578 = T. Würzburg, K 1013 mit Brashear 1985, Taf. 5–7	IV./V. Jhdt.	79 Nr. 97–101	279f. Nr. 402	32999
11) London, BL Add MS 33368 descr.; Painter 1967, 106 Nr. 12	IV./V. Jhdt.	75 Nr. 37–44	279 Nr. 401	64582
12) SB XX 14953 mit ZPE 28, 1978, Taf. XVI c)	IV./V. Jhdt.	–	–	34177
13) SB XVIII 13576 = T. Würzburg, K 1011 mit Brashear 1985, Taf. 1f.	V. Jhdt.	78 Nr. 92–96	–	35149
14) London, BL Add MS 41203 A–F; Painter 1967, 108f. Nr. 21	VI. Jhdt.	–	–	65052

Appendix A: Tafeln mit jeweils zwei Doppellöchern (Forts.).

Tafeln	Datum	Cauderlier 1992	Cribiore 1996	TM#
15) SB XXVIII 16981 = T. Würzburg, K 1014 mit Brashear 1985, Taf. 8–13	VI./VII. Jhdt.	81 Nr. 140–143	–	97824
16) SB XXVIII 16984 = T. Würzburg, K 1017 mit Brashear 1986, Taf. 4	VI./VII. Jhdt.	91 Nr. 289	194 Nr. 90	65292
17) SB XX 15007[109]	VI./VII. Jhdt.	–	–	69466
18) MPER N.S. XV 171 mit pl. 79 + SB XVI 12403 mit CE 57, 1982, 304 Fig. 1	VII. Jhdt.	82 Nr. 155–157	283 Nr. 411	38657
19) London, BL EA 27393 descr.; Painter 1967, 105 Nr. 8	o. D.	–	–	131546

Appendix B: Tafeln mit jeweils drei Doppellöchern.[109]

Tafeln	Datum	Cauderlier 1992	Cribiore 1996	TM#
1) London, BL Add. MS 33270 = Shorthand Manuals T; Painter 1967, 105f. Nr. 11	III./IV. Jhdt.	–	–	64313
2) T. Varie 33–42, mit Tav. XLIII–LII	III.–V. Jhdt.	80 Nr. 112–116; vgl. schon 1989, 55 Nr. B	279 Nr. 400	64365
3) T. Varie 43–50, mit Tav. LIII–LX	VI. Jhdt.	80 Nr. 117–121; vgl. schon 1989, 55f. Nr. C	282 Nr. 407	65098
4) SB XXVIII 16982 = T. Würzburg, K 1015 mit Brashear 1986, Taf. 1f.	VI./VII. Jhdt.	84 Nr. 178f.	–	65291

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109 Ohne Abb. und inzwischen wieder dem privaten Eigentümer zurückgegeben; vgl. jedoch Shelton 1989, 209 in der Ed. pr. „The general appearance is very much like that of Würzburg inv. K 1014" (oben Nr. 15).

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Jonas Leipziger

Ancient Jewish Greek Practices of Reading and Their Material Aspects

The traditional characterisation of ancient Judaism as text-centred and thus as a 'religion of the book' is a common narrative: The 'old' sacrificial cult of the temple was substituted after 70 CE by a 'literary cult' with the rabbinic emphasis on prayer and especially on studying and reading Hebrew Scripture. The resulting 'bookish' nature of Rabbinic Judaism remains mostly unchallenged in recent scholarship and this is partly also true for biblical Judaism. Studies both on historical reading practices and on other forms of textual reception have long been neglected in Biblical Studies and scholarship of Second Temple Judaism due to their focus mainly on the development of what would later become the Jewish Bible, on textual criticism and scribal practices. However, the afore-mentioned 'literary cult' and practices of reading in communities of ancient Judaism have to be put into their historical context of reception and mapped more precisely. The following issues have to be examined: The preconditions of reading (presence and distribution of texts; literacy; orality and textuality; secondary and magical use of Scripture); the texts read in ancient Jewish literature, also with regard to languages and translations; the material aspects of reading (esp. format: scroll); and the identification of different communities of reading.

The basic assumption of my paper as part of my PhD project on mapping reading practices in ancient Judaism is that reading practices and textual reception differ in various sociocultural contexts, epochs, and geographical areas. Reading is understood as a "complex sociocultural construction that is tied, essentially, to particular contexts".[1] In order to contextualise ancient Jewish reading practices, my paper focuses on three different topics against the background of Hellenistic and Greek speaking Jewish communities in antiquity:

(1) It will briefly question the perception of ancient Judaism as a 'religion of the book' since it can be argued that neither broad knowledge nor distribution of Scripture, nor Torah reading as *lectio continua* in synagogues can be taken for granted in ancient Judaism.

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1 Johnson 2000, 600.

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(2) Concerning the synagogal development of regular and public readings of Torah, it will shortly show that a monolingual Greek reading can be assumed in an Greek speaking environment from its origins in the first centuries CE, to its broad distribution in the fourth century, and up to its hebraisation (sixth/seventh century).

(3) Recent scholarship has argued for an unbroken continuity of a Jewish usage of the Greek Bible from Antiquity up to the Middle Ages and beyond (esp. Nicholas de Lange). The core of my paper takes part in these debates, focussing on the first centuries CE in seeking to fill the gap between Hellenistic Judaism and the early Middle Ages. It will discuss the attribution of some Greek Bible codices to a Christian origin. According to common scholarship, criteria for assessing their origin include the format of the codex, the scribal practice of the so called *nomina sacra*, and the use of Greek language. All three criteria are supposed to be unique to Christian manuscripts as opposed to Jewish. This method of identification has been questioned by Kurt Treu[2] and Robert A. Kraft.[3] My paper presents evidence of ancient artefacts (manuscripts, esp. codices; amulets; inscriptions) that may lead to the conclusion of a Jewish origin and usage of some of these Greek Bible codices.

Jewish cultural history in Antiquity has often been studied mainly on the basis of Rabbinic narratives. However, scholarship done in the last decades has increasingly questioned the use of Rabbinic literature as describing actual historical events, traditions, and customs.[4] Moreover, the actual influence of the Rabbinic movement is challenged in different ways: Rabbinic norms and traditions do not necessarily represent all forms of ancient Judaism. Thus in describing ancient Jewish reading practices, Rabbinic sources like *Mishnah*, *Talmud Yerushalmi*, *Talmud Bavli*, or the extra-canonical tractates like *Sefer Torah* or *Soferim* cannot be taken for granted as reflecting actual historical customs of reading Torah in the synagogues or in the Rabbi's study houses. Nevertheless, many studies on Jewish practices of reading use these Rabbinic sources as historical testimonies. As a result, they risk projecting Rabbinic norms anachronistically on earlier periods, undertaking a 'rabbinisation' of all forms of Judaism(s) in Antiquity, or ignoring Greek speaking Judaism given the Rabbinic preference for the Hebrew language.

In concentrating on Greek speaking Jewish communities in Antiquity and on their practices of reading and by reconstructing them through meta-texts about reading and through material evidences, my paper seeks to describe ancient Jewish practices of reading more precisely.

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2 Cf. Treu 1973.

3 Cf. Kraft 2003.

4 Cf. Hezser 2010.

1 Ancient Judaism as 'Religion of the Book'?

It is a popular commonplace to label ancient Judaism as being a 'religion of the book'.[5] One of my working theories is that ancient Judaism, defined as a 'religion of the book' and thus exhibiting elements of a 'literary cult', would require firstly an established ritual, i. e. ritualised and regular readings of Scripture/Torah as *lectio continua*, and secondly it requires a wide distribution of these texts. However, neither broad knowledge nor distribution of Scripture, nor Torah reading as *lectio continua* in synagogues can be taken for granted in ancient Judaism.

1.1 Presence and Distribution of Scripture in Ancient Judaism

Albert Baumgarten[6] characterises Torah as a "public document" and as "possession of all Jews, known and available to them",[7] so that Jews in Antiquity regarded their Scriptures as 'public'.[8] Similarly, e. g. Martha Himmelfarb,[9] Stefan Schorch,[10] and Joachim Schaper[11] presume both a historically determinable public access and a wide distribution of Torah in the second century BCE. Moreover, Schorch assumes that in the third and fourth century BCE private ownership and distribution and also public access to manuscripts of Torah have been common.[12] However, the public access to and wide distribution of Scriptures postulated by Baumgarten, Himmelfarb, Schorch, Schaper, and others have to be questioned: the topos of Torah as a widely known, distributed, and public document seems to be rather a literary fiction than describing historical realities. Both biblical Judaism until the first centuries CE and the subsequent Rabbinic Judaism reflect rather an educated and literate elite than a common or widespread "religion of the book" as characterising the masses of Jews in Antiquity. Only after the spread of a ritual that popularises and promulgates Torah—i. e. the regular reading of Torah—the Jewish Scriptures in Antiquity became wider known and left the circles of the elites. Private ownership of Torah scrolls remains an exception in Antiquity.[13] The multitude of scrolls found among the Dead Sea Scrolls and the rituals of studying scripture described in some communal texts should rather be seen as a

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5 Cf. for example Wischmeyer 1995, 17; Assmann 2010, 104–109; Pietsch 2011; Schmid 2012.
6 Cf. Baumgarten 1985; Schorch 2004, 54–61; Schorch 2007; Schremer 2001; Carr 2005, 247; Schiffman 1999; Levine 2005, 148; Schwartz 2001, 49.
7 Baumgarten 1985, 17.
8 Cf. Baumgarten 1985, 22.
9 Cf. Himmelfarb 2013, 225.
10 Cf. Schorch 2009a, 2009b, esp. 171–174.
11 Cf. Schaper 2007.
12 Cf. Schorch 2009b, 173f.
13 Cf. Hezser 2001, 2003.

peculiarity of the community of the *yaḥad* than as a general characteristic of Second Temple Jewish communities.[14]

These arguments against a public access to and wide distribution of Torah have been put forward by Catherine Hezser,[15] Günther Stemberger,[16] Rebecca Scharbach Wollenberg,[17] and Michael Satlow.[18] Stemberger summarises about the pre-70 CE period that Torah and other Biblical books have not been available to the public.[19] According to him, Torah was anything but a public good of the people. It remained the exclusive property of priests and the elite of ancient Judaism that was read only very rarely in the public.[20]

1.2 The Development of Ritualised Readings of Torah as *Lectio Continua*

The most important feature in ancient Jewish synagogues were regular, public, and ritualised readings of Torah. With respect to the act of reading, Daniel Boyarin emphasises the difference between ancient Jewish and modern practices: "'Reading', in ancient Jewish culture signifies an act which is oral, social, and collective, while in modern (and early-modern) Europe it signifies an act that belongs to a private or semi-private social space."[21] Questions on geographical origin, distribution, and the precise dating of reading Torah as *lectio continua* are disputed.[22] Some scholars assume that regular readings are already established either in the Babylonian exile or in Second Temple Judaism: Levine considers public reading in the first century CE as a universal practice of ancient Judaism that has been institutionalised between the fifth and third century BCE and became a central part of the synagogue. According to him, the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek in the third century BCE is also evidence of the emergence of regular Torah readings.[23] Similar arguments are put forward by Gelardini[24] and Runesson, according to whom public readings date from the fifth century BCE and are attested in biblical sources like the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.[25] Watts even dates the origin of public readings to the times of the Israelite monarchy.[26]

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14 Cf. Stemberger 2012b, 29; Hezser 2001, 426.
15 Cf. Hezser 2001.
16 Cf. Stemberger 2012b.
17 Cf. Scharbach Wollenberg 2015.
18 Cf. Satlow 2014.
19 Stemberger 2012b, 34.
20 Cf. Stemberger 2012b, 28.
21 Boyarin 2003, 61.
22 Cf. esp. Schiffman 1999; Mosser 2012; Watts 1995; Shinan 1987; Perrot 1990.
23 Cf. Levine 2005, 150f.
24 Cf. Gelardini 2007, 113.
25 Cf. Runesson 2001, 240–233.
26 Cf. Watts 1995, 557.

Among the biblical verses describing readings of Scripture, especially Neh 8, 2 Kgs 22:8–13, and Deut 31:9–13 are debated. However, according to other interpretations of these biblical narratives, the evidence does not describe any tradition of *ritualised public readings* as *lectio continua* of Scripture: the biblical accounts describe one-time-events, if they are testified as historical facts at all or are better understood as literary fictions.[27] With regard to the first century CE, a number of sources like the Theodotus-inscription, Philo, Josephus, and the New Testament testifies the nascent transformation process from rituals of studying Scripture to regular, public, and ritualised practices of reading Torah. However, a widespread diffusion of these traditions can in no ways be taken for granted in ancient Judaism:

> The evidence surveyed appears to me to attest the custom of regular public reading from scripture in the Diaspora by the beginning of the Common Era. But unambiguous evidence for this practice in first-century Judah is minimal. The scanty evidence would seem to make it difficult to assume that the custom was widespread in the latter land. And for earlier Second Temple times we have only a few biblical and other passages reflecting at most an occasional, sporadic practice of public recitation of scripture. Given the absence of schools in ancient Judah [...] only regular public reading of the Bible (or recitation of the contents of biblical and related literature) could fill the role of a mass medium needed to disseminate a socially constructed national identity among the people. And our sources do not clearly attest such a practice before the first century.[28]

A related issue is the question of origins, diffusion, and purpose of ancient Jewish synagogues.[29] Schwartz emphasises that the institution of the synagogue becomes a widespread phenomenon with "more than marginal significance"[30] only in the fourth century CE. In short, the assumption of regular and public reading practices of ancient Judaism as *lectio continua* appears to be questionable for a long period of time: "So what do we actually know about Torah reading practices in the first century? What do we know about instruction during Sabbath assemblies? The answer to both of these questions is this: not what most scholars of early Judaism and Christianity have presumed."[31] Thus, it becomes clear that regular and public practices of reading cannot be taken for granted in ancient Judaism and that the ritual setting, format, and design was not uniform in the first centuries CE: This is especially true for the language of the recitation and the reading format, and these topics will be discussed in the following chapters.

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27 Cf. Japhet 2015, 187; Stemberger 2012b, 28; Schiffman 1999.
28 Goodblatt 2006, 40.
29 Cf. Levine 1987; Runesson 2001; Levine 2005; Hachlili 2013.
30 Schwartz 2001, 216.
31 Mosser 2012, 550.

2 Material Aspects of Reading: Evidence for Ancient Jewish Greek Bible Codices and Their Ongoing Usage

Manuscripts are not only 'containers' of text: In contrast, they should be understood as script-bearing artefacts that determine and shape acts of reading.[32] First and foremost, this paper deals with material aspects of scrolls and codices. The common narrative that describes the shift from scroll to codex implies that while the early Christians rapidly adopted the codex the Jews did not use the codex and held on to the scroll until the eighth or ninth century and thus until the rise of Islam. With regard to the scroll, the tractates *Sefer Torah* and *Sofrim* contain detailed prescriptions of producing and writing the *Sefer Torah* on a scroll for synagogal usage.[33] Consequently T.-S. 6H9–6H21, a papyrus containing Joseph bar Nissan's *Shaveh-Kiriathaim* and dated palaeographically to the eighth century, is regarded as the first codex of Jewish scribal culture, while the first codex containing the Jewish Bible is seen in the *Codex Cairensis*. While its date is being discussed and partly questioned, the earliest unchallenged colophon of a Jewish Bible codex is to be found in a codex fragment dated to 903/04 that contains parts of the books of Ruth and Nehemiah. Against this background of Hebrew Jewish scribal culture and material evidence, Catherine Hezser assumes that "there is no evidence that a codex [...] was used by Jews prior to the Christians, if it was used by Jews at all in Antiquity."[34] Similarly, Willem Smellik writes that the "codex [...] seems to have come into use among Jewish circles only after the Arab conquest, with a possible exception for a non-Biblical text in Greek".[35] David Stern expresses the same opinion.[36]

According to this interpretation of scribal culture, there seems to be a clear cut *Parting of the Ways* with regard to material aspects of reading: The format of the codex would be an early identity marker of the Christian movement, while Jews did not use the codex before the eighth or ninth century. However, this perception of ancient Jewish and early Christian history has to be questioned: possible Jewish manuscripts of the Greek Bible (LXX or Jewish revisions/recensions) are neglected, since scholarship (possibly influenced by the Rabbinic narratives) focuses mainly on Hebrew manuscripts. This is true both with regard to the codex as a possible format of Jewish scripture in Antiquity and to the ongoing (liturgical) Jewish usage of the Greek Bible. Before presenting evidence for both a possible Jewish origin of some Greek Bible codices from the second/third century CE onwards and for a continuous Jewish use of

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32 Cf. Hilgert 2010.
33 Cf. Cohen 1965a; 1965b.
34 Hezser 2001, 136.
35 Smelik 2013, 222.
36 Cf. Stern 2008, 163–165.

Greek Bibles in synagogal readings, I want to emphasise the risk of characterising the use of the codex as a distinct marker of difference between ancient Jewish and early Christian communities. This characterisation runs the danger of perpetuating anachronistic views on the *Parting of the Ways* and of projecting later Rabbinic norms on earlier periods, and risks neglecting the Jewish Greek heritage of Hellenistic Judaism.

Scholarship on ancient Judaism and early Christianity of the last decades has lead to a radical re-evaluation of the *Parting of the Ways,* reformulated as *Ways that never Parted*.[37] The developing Christian movement is regarded more and more as a Jewish movement and its Jewish roots, heritage, and embeddedness in ancient Judaism are highlighted. The developments of both Christianity as a distinct entity and of ancient Judaism and Rabbinic Judaism are regarded as a result of different discourses lead by patristic and Rabbinic elites. While different studies argue for long shared traditions regarding theology, thought, and ritual where Christianity and Judaism cannot be considered as separate entities before the fourth or fifth century CE, the interpretation of the material evidence and especially of Greek Bible manuscripts seems to be a surprising exception to these discourses arguing for an early *Parting of the Ways*. It seems to be a broad scholarly consensus—whether explicitly or implicitly—that all of the preserved manuscripts of the Greek Bible (LXX) are of Christian origin, while hardly any Jewish Bible manuscript can be traced back to the time when Christianity arose in the first centuries CE. Although in studies on the Greek Bible/Septuagint the Jewish origin of the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible in the third century BCE is noted, it often seems that this narrative highlights both the Christian takeover and therefore the Jewish rejection of its Greek Bible heritage.

According to the 'checklist' just mentioned, nearly every codex of the Greek Bible is considered as being of Christian origin with the exception of only a few manuscripts. If this narrative were indeed true, this perception of a clear-cut 'material' *Parting of the Ways* would be quite astonishing, given the appearance of codices of the Greek Bible in the second century already. In order to challenge this common scholarly perception, we need to examine the criteria by which a Jewish origin and usage of Greek Bible codices is excluded, and these are—as already mentioned—the codex form, the *nomina sacra*, and the Greek language.

2.1 *Nomina Sacra* in Jewish Artefacts

My paper focuses on the earliest manuscripts of the Greek Bible that—with a few earlier exceptions[38]—date from the first centuries CE, i. e. parallel to the development of the beginnings of the Christian movement. In evaluating these Greek Bible codices

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37 Cf. Becker/Reed 2003.

38 Pre-Christian, Jewish manuscripts of the Greek Bible include: 4Q LXXDeut; Papyrus Rylands 458; Papyrus Fouad 266; 4Q LXXLevª; 4Q LXXLevᵇ; 4Q LXXNum; 7QLXXEpJer; 7Q LXXEx (and as well 8HevXIIgr. as P.Oxy. 3522, dated to the first century CE).

(and some scrolls), the scribal feature of the so called *nomina sacra* led to identify them as Christian: The so called *nomina sacra* are Greek abbreviations by contraction with a super-linear stroke. They replace titles, names and terms regarded as holy and represent them for example as κ̅ς̅ or θ̅ς̅, instead of their uncontracted forms κύριος or θέος. It was in 1907 that Ludwig Traube, the German Jewish philologist and palaeographer, wrote his ground-breaking monograph on *Nomina Sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung*[39] and called these Greek abbreviations *nomina sacra*. While Traube argued not only for a Jewish use but also for a Jewish origin of the *nomina sacra*, a scholarly consensus arose in the 1960s and 1970s on a Christian origin of this scribal practice. Even more, *nomina sacra* are perceived commonly as *the* characteristic feature of early Christian manuscripts of the Greek 'Old Testament' (LXX), of what would later become the Christian New Testament, and of the New Testament Apocrypha. *Nomina sacra* became almost identity markers of Christian artefacts, proving Christian provenance and excluding Jewish use and origin. This scholarly consensus is only challenged by Kurt Treu[40] and by Robert A. Kraft.[41] Most scholars seem to establish a 'checklist' of three items allowing them to prove the Christian origin of a manuscript: firstly, the codex-format, since Jews never used the codex before the eighth/ninth century but exmployed only scrolls for liturgical readings; secondly, the occurrence of *nomina sacra* (abbreviations through contractions, like κ̅ς̅ or θ̅ς̅),[42] for which a Jewish origin is generally excluded; and thirdly, the use of Greek language, since only Hebrew is seen as the Jew's holy language according to the Rabbinic ideology.[43] This essentialist form of categorisation and of constructing orthodox/orthoprax criteria of difference between ancient Jewish and early Christian communities of reading led Roberts to label both the codex and the *nomina sacra* as "the two stigmata of Christian texts".[44] This will turn out as an anachronistic approach to the material evidence and heritage of both ancient Judaism and early Christianity.

To build on the work done by Treu and Kraft, there is more evidence of *nomina sacra* in undoubtful Jewish artefacts than commonly acknowledged in the history of research.[45] Concerning the origin of the *nomina sacra*, a clear answer cannot be

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39 Cf. Traube 1907.

40 Cf. Treu 1973.

41 Cf. Kraft 2003.

42 Cf. Traube 1907; Howard 1977; Roberts 1979; Hurtado 1998; Hurtado 2006, 96–98; Kraft 2003.

43 Already Treu 1973, 140, wrote: "Wie steht es mit jüdischen Texten aus christlicher Zeit? Wir haben inzwischen eine große Anzahl griechischer Texte des Alten Testaments, darunter auch nicht wenige aus dem 2. und 3. Jh. Soweit ich sehe, ist nie systematisch nachgeprüft worden, ob unter ihnen nicht Stücke jüdischer Herkunft sind. Drei Axiome dürften eine solche Prüfung verhindert haben: 1) Nach Übernahme der LXX durch die Christen gaben die Juden sie auf. Handschriften aus nachchristlicher Zeit müssen daher christlich sein. 2) Juden schrieben nur Rollen. Kodizes müssen daher christlich sein. 3) Die Kontraktion der sog. Nomina sacra ist ein spezifisch christlicher Gebrauch. Ihr Vorkommen beweist christliche Herkunft." Cf. also Kraft 2002.

44 Roberts 1979, 19.

45 The number of studies on *nomina sacra* is vast. The most important contributions to the history of

provided. But in terms of reception history, the inscriptions, amulets and cult objects presented here argue for an indisputable Jewish use of *nomina sacra*: the presence of *nomina sacra* in Jewish artefacts is given in the table below. The evidence is classified as amulets, cult objects, and inscriptions. It also includes Hebrew artefacts containing in my opinion Hebrew equivalents to the Greek *nomina sacra* that have not been treated so far:

Tab. 1: *Nomina Sacra* in Jewish Artefacts.

Dat.	Artefact	Lang.	Form	Nomina Sacra
II/III	Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, without inventory number[46]	G	Amulet (contains Deut 32:1–3 according to the ancient Greek version of Aquila)	|$\overline{Ku}$
IV/V	Brooklyn Museum, 41.684 (= JIGRE 134)[47]	G	Cultic object: incense burner	$\overline{Kε}$
300–350	IJO I, Ach58	G	Mosaic inscription of Theodorus, Aegina	$\overline{θu}$
360–370	*See Note*[48]		Dedicatory inscription, Synagoge, Sardis	$\overline{Θu}$
V/VI	P.Köln Inv. 5941[49]	H	Papyrus, Hebrew lamentation	יִיִיּ ל/הָאִים/אִים
VI/VII	Jerusalem, Israel Museum, unknown inventory number[50]	G	Byzantine amuletic armband (partly modificating the ancient Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion in translating Deut 6:5–9; 11:13–21)	$\overline{κς}$
IV	IJO I, Ach72	G	Inscription, prayer of Eunomius, Grammata Bay (Syros)	$\overline{κε}$ βοήθη
IV	IJO I, Ach73	G	Inscription, thanksgiving of Heortylis, Grammata Bay (Syros)	$\overline{θu}$
IV(–VI)	IJO I, Mac17	G	Dedicatory inscription, Synagoge, Thessalonike (LXX Num 6:22–27)	$\overline{κς}$, $\overline{ιηλ}$, θεός

research include chronologically Traube 1907; Paap 1959; Skeat 1969; Brown 1970; Treu 1973; Turner 1977; Howard 1977; Roberts 1979; Gamble 1995; Hurtado 1998; Hurtado 2000; Kraft 2003; Hurtado 2006; Hurtado 2010; Hurtado 2012; Bagnall 2009; Edwards 2009.

46 Cf. Brea 1956, 170 f.; Kotansky 1994, 129 f.

47 Cf. Horbury/Noy 1992, 225 (= 134)*; Weitzmann 1979, 385.

48 Cf. Edwards 2009; Kroll 2001, 30 f.

49 Cf. Klein-Franke 1983; Sirat 1985, Pl. 4; *NewDocs* 8, 145.

50 Cf. Benovitz 2016.

Tab. 1: (continued).

Dat.	Artefact	Lang.	Form	Nomina Sacra
IV–	IJO II 226	G	Funerary inscription, Ikonion	θε, θν
V	BSHE0010[51]	G	Synagogue Mosaic, dedicatory, Scythopolis-Beth Shean	K
V	BSHE0011[52]	G	Synagogue Mosaic, dedicatory, Scythopolis-Beth Shean	K
V–VI	CAES0080[53]	G	Block, dedicatory (offering), Caesarea	Kς β
VI	CIJ I 661	G	Funerary inscription [?], Tortosa	K̄Ȳ
VI	BSHE0016[54]	G	Synagogue Mosaic, dedicatory, Scythopolis-Beth Shean	Kς
VI/VII	CIJ 1141	G	An Offering of the Jewish congragation	K̄Σ̄ B[Σ
604/5	ASHK0002[55]	G	Dedication on Synagogue grate, marble plaque, Ashkelon	Θ β, Θω, Κυρ,
?	MS. Heb. c. 57 (P) (c)[56]	H	Papyrus, liturgical [?]	יֿ [?]
?	T-S 8H16.23[57]	H	Prayer	יֿיֿ אינו
?	T-S C6.133[58]	G	Commentary on 1 Kings	הֿהֿ
?	T-S NS 122.126[59]	G	Passover Haggadah	הֿהֿ

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51 Database *Inscriptions of Israel / Palestine* "BSHE0010—Scythopolis-Beth Shean, 5th c. CE. Synagogue Mosaic. Dedicatory," http://library.brown.edu/cds/projects/iip/viewinscr/bshe0010/ (last accessed 10.06.2018).

52 Database *Inscriptions of Israel / Palestine* "BSHE0011—Scythopolis-Beth Shean, 5th c. CE. Synagogue Mosaic. Dedicatory," http://library.brown.edu/cds/projects/iip/viewinscr/bshe0011/ (last accessed 10.06.2018).

53 Database *Inscriptions of Israel / Palestine* "CAES0080—Caesarea. Fifth or sixth century CE. Block. Dedicatory (Offering)," http://library.brown.edu/cds/projects/iip/viewinscr/caes0080/ (last accessed 10.06.2018).

54 Database *Inscriptions of Israel / Palestine* "BSHE0016—Scythopolis-Beth Shean, 6th c. CE. Synagogue Mosaic. Dedicatory," http://library.brown.edu/cds/projects/iip/viewinscr/bshe0016/ (last accessed 10.06.2018).

55 Database *Inscriptions of Israel / Palestine* "ASHK0002—Ashkelon. 604/5 CE. Marble Plaque. Dedication on Synagogue Grate," http://library.brown.edu/cds/projects/iip/viewinscr/ashk0002/ (last accessed 10.06.2018).

56 Cf. Cowley 1915, 211f.

57 Cf. Reif 2016, 93–105.

58 Cf. De Lange 1996, 127–154.

59 Cf. De Lange 1996, 43–57.

This table does not include codices or scrolls of the Greek Bible. It highlights three important aspects: Firstly, it presents plenty of evidence of undoubtful Jewish Greek *and* Hebrew artefacts containing *nomina sacra*. This proves that *nomina sacra* can also be found in Jewish artefacts, dating from the second/third century up to the seventh century for Greek sources (the Genizah material is undated). Consequently, the presence of *nomina sacra* in artefacts can no longer be regarded as an exclusively Christian scribal feature. Given the vast variety of *nomina sacra* in other Jewish artefacts, a Jewish origin of Greek Bible manuscripts (codices and scrolls) containing *nomina sacra*—and so far considered as Christian—can not be excluded.

Possibly Jewish scrolls of the Greek Bible containing *nomina sacra* include the following three manuscripts: Firstly, P. Oxy 1166 (third century; papyrus; Gen) bears the *nomina sacra* $\overline{\text{κς}}$ and $\overline{\text{θς}}$ (reconstructed). Treu[60] and Kraft[61] speak of a Jewish origin or usage, Roberts and Skeat label it as "possibly so",[62] Hurtado seems to be undecided ("Jewish?"[63]), and Roberts[64] classifies this scroll as Christian. Kraft regards this manuscript as an

> especially important text for the discussion of Jewish and Christian scribal practice [...]. If this text is Jewish in origin, it suggests that the 'biblical majuscule' style may have come into Christianity from Judaism, and that the use of *nomina sacra* was no less Jewish than Christian in this early period.[65]

Secondly, P. Pisa Lit. 14 (Alexandria, Gr.-Rom. Mus., P. Alex. Inv 203; third/fourth century; papyrus, Isaiah)[66] presents the *nomen sacrum* $\overline{\text{κς}}$. A Jewish identification is provided by Kraft,[67] Hurtado,[68] and van Haelst,[69] while Roberts and Skeat regard this manuscript as one of the few Christian Bible scrolls.[70] Thirdly, P. Oxy. 1075 (London, BL, Inv. 2053v; third/fourth century; papyrus; Exodus) includes the *nomen sacrum* $\overline{\text{κυ}}$. Both Treu[71] and Kraft[72] suppose a Jewish provenance.

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[60] Cf. Treu 1973, 142.

[61] Cf. Kraft 2003, 62.

[62] Roberts/Skeat 1983, 39.

[63] Hurtado 2006, 210.

[64] Roberts/Skeat 1983, 39.

[65] Kraft 2003, 62.

[66] The recto of this manuscript (P. Pisa Lit. 14) has been reused in the third/fourth century as a palimpsest with the text of Rev 1:4–7 (P. Oxy. 1079); cf. Treu 1973, 142: "Was impliziert die christliche Wiederverwendung? Auf den ersten Blick sicher auch christliche Erstherstellung. Aber jüdische Handschriften im Besitz von Christen sind bezeugt."

[67] Cf. Treu 1973, 64.

[68] Cf. Hurtado 2006.

[69] Cf. van Haelst 1976.

[70] Roberts/Skeat 1983, 39.

[71] Cf. Kraft 2003, 64.

[72] Cf. Kraft 2003, 62f.

Possibly Jewish Greek Bible codices will be discussed in the next chapter. Deconstructing *nomina sacra* as being an exclusively Christian marker of a manuscript's identity, has important implications on our understanding of (also possibly Greek mono-lingual) reading practices in ancient synagogues, and highlights the possibly Jewish use of the codex and the ongoing Jewish usage of Greek translations (LXX/ Jewish recensions). These issues will be further discussed in the following parts. In a broader context, this discussion on *nomina sacra* provides evidence for shared traditions and shared attitudes towards reading Scripture in both ancient Jewish and early Christian communities of reading.

2.2 The Codex as a Jewish Reading Material

2.2.1 From Scroll to Codex

The development from scroll to codex has often been labelled as a 'media revolution', especially with regard to early Christian communities of reading. In describing this shift, three different approaches can be found in the history of research concerning the underlying actors, driving forces, and communities:

(1) In their monograph *Birth of the Codex*, Roberts and Skeat assumed with reference to Shaul Lieberman[73] Rabbinic 'notebooks' as a model for Christian codices,[74] but their hypothesis did not prevail.[75] Without referring to Roberts and Skeat or Rabbinic practices, both Treu and Kraft[76] emphasise the continuity of early Christian scribal practices with their Jewish heritage and cultural background, especially with regard to the format of the codex.

(2) Most scholars assume a Christian origin or even 'invention' of the codex, while their approaches differ significantly. Reasons for explaining the adoption of the codex are economic[77] as well as practical.[78] Some stress an improved portability of codices as advantage for the missionary activities of the early Christian movement,[79] or assume a conscious decision to use the codex in contrast to ancient Judaism;[80] others underline the capacity of the codex to contain all the 'canonical' gospels that would not fit on one single scroll,[81] or, on the contrary, the

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73 Cf. Lieberman 1962.

74 Roberts/Skeat 1983, 59 f.

75 Cf. Hezser 2001, 433 f.

76 Cf. Treu 1973; Kraft 2008.

77 Cf. Cavallo 1999, 84; Harris 1991, 81.

78 Cf. Seeliger 2012, 550 f.

79 Cf. Epp 2005, 534; McCormick 1985, 157.

80 Cf. Resnick 1992, 4.

81 Cf. Skeat 2004a, 79: "a codex could contain the texts of all four Gospels. No roll could do this."

possibility of limiting the 'canonical' texts to the ones contained within the book covers, excluding the possibility of additions.[82]

(3) Bagnall criticises oversimplifying reasoning in characterising the codex as a Christian 'invention', regards the codex as "an artifact of Roman civilisation", and emphasises "how deeply rooted in Roman culture the use of tables was."[83] Tablets have been used by scribes in Egypt, the Ancient Near East, in Archaic and Classical Greece and in ancient Rome. Hence Bagnall sees the codex as an "adaption of the codex of tables"[84] that can be regarded as "another manifestation of what for short we may still call Romanization, the spread of Roman habits and technologies throughout the empire."[85]

2.2.2 Possible Jewish Greek Bible Codices

The following chapter discusses possible evidence for Jewish Greek Bible codices and questions their attribution to a Christian origin. If we regard neither the presence of *nomina sacra* in manuscripts as an exclusively Christian marker of identity, nor the format of the codex as non-Jewish, there is some manuscript evidence of possible Jewish codices dating from the first centuries CE until the Middle Ages. In this regard, the different manuscripts of the Greek Bible/Septuagint have to be studied more comprehensively, but in this paper, I want to discuss only a few codices and argue for both their Jewish origin and usage (see table 2).

The first codices of the Greek Bible (or surviving fragments) date from the second century CE onwards. The first codex to be mentioned here is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Gr. Bibl. d 5 (P. Oxy. 656; second/third century; papyrus; Gen). While it does not contain any *nomen sacrum*, the first scribe originally left four blank spaces where the tetragrammaton or forms of its replacement would be expected; in three of these four cases, a second scribe inserted the term κύριος. Treu,[86] Kraft,[87] and Kahle[88] assume that this codex is Jewish in origin, Roberts writes of a possible Jewish origin,[89] and Hurtado notes: "Jewish? (Roberts)".[90] In evaluating this Jewish identification, Stern writes that

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82 Cf. Roberts/Skeat 1983.
83 Bagnall 2009, 86; cf. Meyer 2004.
84 Bagnall 2009, 87.
85 Bagnall 2009, 87.
86 Cf. Treu 1973, 142.
87 Cf. Kraft 2003, 61f.
88 Cf. Kahle 1959, 222.
89 Cf. Roberts 1979, 33. 77.
90 Hurtado 2006, 210.

[...] it is [...] surmised that the original scribe was Jewish. The scribe's identity is especially significant because it is often claimed that early Christianity, no Jews, used the codex as a writing platform for their scriptures, and they did so to distinguish themselves from Jews, who, it is said, exclusively used the scroll as a writing platform. If the scribe of this fragmentary codex was Jewish, it would argue for the opposite reasoning: early Christians may have written in codices not to differentiate themselves from Jews but precisely because the codex was a scribal practice of the Greek-speaking Jewish culture from which Christianity emerged.[91]

P. Oxy. 1007 (London, BL, Inv. Nr. 2047; third century; parchment; Gen) is very likely Jewish in origin. While the tetragrammaton is replaced by two paleo-Hebrew *Yodim* marked by a horizontal stroke (𐤉𐤉), the term θεός is substituted by the *nomen sacrum* θ̅ς̅. Treu,[92] Kraft,[93] and Kahle[94] attribute this codex to a Jewish origin, while Hurtado remains undecided ("Christian or Jewish?"),[95] and Roberts presumes Christian origins.[96]

The codex New York, Morgan Library & Museum, Pap. Gr. 3; P. Amherst 3b (Papyrus 12; third century; papyrus; Gen) dates from the same century and is likely Jewish in origin, too. In contains the *nomina sacra* θ̅ς̅ and π̅ν̅α̅ and presents both the LXX and the version of Akilas of Gen 1:1–4.5b. However, the actual format of this fragment is

Tab. 2: Possible Jewish Greek Bible Codices

Dat.	Artefact	Mat.	Content	Nomina Sacra
II/III	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Gr. Bibl. d 5 (P. Oxyrhynchus 656)	Pp	Gen 14:21–23; 15:5–9; 19:32–20:11; 24:28–47; 27:32, 33, 40, 41	Blank Spaces (first scribe); κύριος (second scribe)
III	London, BL, Inv. Nr. 2047 (P. Oxyrhynchus 1007)	Pg	Gen 2:7–9, 16–19; 2:23–3:1; 3:6–8	𐤉𐤉; θ̅ς̅
III	New York, Morgan Library & Museum, Pap. Gr. 3; P. Amherst 3b = Papyrus 12	Pp	Gen 1:1–4, 5b (LXX) Gen 1:1–2a.3–4.5b (Aquila)	θ̅ς̅, π̅ν̅α̅
VI	Cambridge, Univ. Libr., T-S 12. 184 and 20.50	Pg	1 Kgs 20; 2 Kgs 23 (Aquila)	𐤉𐤄𐤅𐤄; κ̅υ̅; ισ̅λ̅
VI	Cambridge, Univ. Libr., T-S 12. 186, 187 and 188	Pg	Ps 90(89):17–92(91):10; 96(95):7–12; 98(97):3; 102(101):16–103(102):13 (Aquila)	–

91 Stern 2017, 168.
92 Cf. Treu 1973, 141f.
93 Cf. Kraft 2003, 61f.
94 Cf. Kahle 1959, 260.
95 Hurtado 2006, 210.
96 Cf. Roberts 1979.

Fig. 1: Cambridge, UL, T-S 12.184.

debated; it may as well be an amulet, a singular sheet, or a fragment of a scroll,[97] and Roberts assumes Christian origins.[98]

The two Genizah parchment codices Cambridge, Univ. Libr., T-S 12. 184 and 20.50, and Cambridge, Univ. Libr., T-S 12. 186, 187 and 188 date from the sixth century. Both are palimpsests and present the biblical text according to Akilas' translation and in Greek letters. The first consists of two bifolios of a fragment of the book of Kings (3 Kgdms 21; 4 Kgdms 23; MT: 1 Kgs 20; 2 Kgs 23) and its reverse side was reused to write Hebrew *Piyyutim* of Yannai.[99] The tetragrammaton is written in paleo-Hebrew

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97 Rahlfs/Fraenkel 2004.
98 Roberts 1979, 9.75.76, n. 2.9.
99 Cf. Crawford Burkitt 1897.

script (𐤉𐤄𐤅𐤄) with the exception of Greek *nomina sacra* ($\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$; $\overline{\iota\sigma\lambda}$) that are used at the end of some lines probably in order to save space. The second codex is a fragment of the Psalms and its reverse side was reused to write verses of the *Talmud Yerushalmi* (tractate *Moed*). The tetragrammaton is written in the Psalms-fragment in paleo-Hebrew script and the codex counts verses according to the MT. De Lange describes the script of both codices as "biblical majuscule script"[100] that can usually only be found in Christian manuscripts, but he excludes a Christian origin.[101] Furthermore he assumes the Jewish synagogal readings as the possible place of reception of both codices:

> These large format, carefully written manuscripts, which are free from annotations of any sort, were what we might call 'lectern Bibles', intended to be kept in a synagogue and used for public readings. The use of the Old Hebrew tetragram supports this view [...]. A possible objection to this view is that the books of Kings were not read in their entirety in any synagogue. We do not know enough about synagogal readings to evaluate the force of this objections.[102]

While the presented five examples of codices originate (most likely) from ancient Egypt, their possible Jewish background would have to be contextualised more precisely. With reference to Jewish codices, especially de Lange points to manuscripts and especially Judeo-Greek codices of Byzantine Judaism that are given in the table below:[103]

Tab. 3: Artefacts from Byzantine Judaism.

Dat.	Artefact	Form/Material	Content
V/VI	T-S 12.184. 20.50	Codex, parchment	1 Kgs 20; 2 Kgs 23, Akilas (Egypt/Palestine)
VI	T-S 12.186. 187. 188	Codex, parchment	Fragments of Psalms, Akilas (Egypt)
XI	T-S Misc. 28.74	Single sheet of parchment	Qoh 2:13–23
XIV (?)	Bodleian, Opp. Add. 8vo 19	Codex, parchment, 345 fols.	Jonah; Festival Prayers (Romaniote Rite)
XV	Bib. Universitaria, MS 3574A	Codex, parchment, 278 fols.	Jonah; Festival Prayers (Romaniote Rite); Creta (Candia?)
1547	–	Printed	*Constantinople Pentateuch*
1576	–	Printed	Job [lost][104], Constantinople

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100 De Lange 2015, 79.
101 Cf. De Lange 2015, 80.
102 De Lange 2015, 79.
103 Cf. also Sznol 2012, 218f.
104 Cf. Sznol 2012, 218.

While the focus of my paper remains in Antiquity, this material heritage of medieval Byzantine Judaism is of crucial importance, since the evidence argues for a tradition of a (possible liturgical) Jewish usage of both the codex and the Greek Bible. De Lange assumes a liturgical usage of the codices given in the table above:

> Despite the very fragmentary nature of these materials, I believe they should be considered evidence for the use of actual versions of the Bible, not just *ad hoc* translations of isolated words and phrases made by teachers and commentators. It is clear that at least some books existed in Greek in the Byzantine synagogue, since we have the Book of Jonah and the fragment of Kohelet. But these are relatively marginal books that had a distinctive liturgical setting.[105]

2.2.3 The Scroll and the Codex, and the Reader's Experience

While we already mentioned possible explanations of the shift from scroll to codex, it is also important to examine the impact of these different types of reading material on the reader's experience. In Antiquity, no Jewish or Christian source refers to disadvantages or advantages of either format with regard to the practice of reading, but in studies on the history of reading we often read about the codex as a revolution—in the words of Guglielmo Cavallo: "Above all, the codex dictated a totally different way of reading a text."[106] Consequently, the practicability of scrolls in comparison to the codex is questioned ("You can imagine how manageable or inconvenient the Pentateuch alone must have been."[107]). However, for example Skeat relativises the difficulty of handling a scroll.[108]

Furthermore, it often remains unclear to which kind of reading practice judgements on the practicability of either scrolls or codices refer to. Depending on the type of reading, the material aspects of scrolls and codices influence the reader's experience differently. Therefore, various modes and forms of reading have to be differentiated:

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105 De Lange 2012, 376f.; emph. in original.
106 Cavallo 1999, 88.
107 Wallraff 2013, 9 ("Man kann sich vorstellen, wie handlich bzw. unhandlich allein der Pentateuch gewesen sein muss.").
108 Cf. Skeat 2004b: "Many writers on the use of manuscripts in the ancient world have emphasised the difficulty experienced by the reader of a papyrus roll when he came to the end of the roll and was faced by the necessity to re-roll it for the benefit of the next reader; and it has often been claimed that this re-rolling was a troublesome and lengthy process. [...] So far as I know, this suggestion has never been put to a practical test, and my own experience may therefore be of some interest." (60f.) He continues: "I conclude therefore that re-rolling a papyrus roll presented no great difficulty to a reader, especially in an age when there was no demand for labour-saving devices. And the necessity for re-rolling is unlikely to have been an important factor in the long drawn-out battle between the roll and the codex. Those who stress the advantage of the codex form in this regard must in any case explain the existence of hundreds of thousands of rolls which have survived from the Middle Ages and even later; but this is another and larger question, too long to be debated here." (62f.)

Forms of reading include liturgical reading/recitation in the synagogue, reading as memory aid, and private textual study, while modes of reading include continuous reading or *lectio continua*, exegetical, private reading, and reading for information. In addition, the usage of scroll and codex should be evaluated more precisely in relation to other criteria, such as textual or meta-textual divisions, pagination, as well as, in general, the content of each format. Thus, the different reading experiences of either scroll or codex should be examined according to following criteria:

(1) panoramic or fragmented reading: The perception of text at the micro- or macro-scale;
(2) liturgical, exegetical, private reading, or reading for information;
(3) physical features: size and format; luxury or miniature editions; acts of 'scrolling'/unfolding a scroll, and leafing through a codex;
(4) inclusion of reading aids, like page numbers, divisions, and paragraphs;
(5) inclusion of meta-texts, like commentaries or glosses;
(6) content: Single works, or inclusion of several books in one volume/manuscript;
(7) impacts of an oral mnemonic culture on the reading materials and vice versa.

With regard to the "history of textuality", Eva Mroczek warns against "linear, supercessionist, and materially determinist"[109] views and against "dangers of naturalizing certain modes of text production and reading as *inherent* to particular materialities."[110]

2.3 Continuity of a Jewish Usage of the Greek as a 'Holy Language'

The Jewish Greek translation of the scriptures that would later form the Jewish Bible is one of the most important elements of the rich legacy of Hellenistic Judaism. However, the thesis of a Jewish 'rejection' of the Greek Bible can be found equally in Christian and Jewish discourses.[111] Less or more implicitly, the Septuagint appears to become a 'baptized' Greek Christian Bible, losing its Jewish roots and identity. This point of view marginalises the Jewish heirs of Hellenistic Judaism in Antiquity and late Antiquity, runs risk of perpetuating Christian theologies of substitution, reduces the LXX and Jewish Greek Bible versions to a *praeparatio evangelica*, and promotes a development that would be unique in the history of religion: a religious community giving up its very own and sacred text when facing the development and consolidation of another religious community. The thesis of the Jewish 'rejection' of the LXX/Greek Bible implies moreover the danger of uncritically perpetuating orthodox discourses, either on the Christian patristic or on the Rabbinic side, and of misinterpreting them as reflecting a historical reality. Similarly, Daniel Boyarin refers to precisely

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109 Mroczek 2011, 243.
110 Mroczek 2011; emph. in original.
111 Cf. the summaries given by De Lange 2015; Veltri 1994, 2006.

those moments and processes of competing orthodoxies that brought forth Christianity and Judaism as separated entities.[112]

Theories on an assumed Jewish rejection of the Greek Bible are according to Thessa Rajak "largely constructed on the platform of a handful of specific statements taken out of a patristic or a rabbinic context".[113] Giuseppe Veltri describes the patristic construction of a Jewish rejection as "pure Christian propaganda"[114] and de Lange regards the thesis of the Jewish rejection of its Greek literary heritage as a form of Christian 'replacement' theology:

> 'Replacement' theology has influenced attitudes to the Septuagint in various ways. Its impact is mostly felt in exegesis, but it can also affect the writing of history, as when Christian authors claim that soon after the arrival of Christianity the Septuagint was 'transferred from the hands of the Jews to the Christian Church.'[115]

Thus, especially de Lange's studies re-evaluate the Jewish Greek heritage and argue for an unbroken chain of tradition, reception and usage of the Greek Bible in Jewish communities from Antiquity, to the Middle Ages and beyond, especially in Byzantine Judaism:

> No Jewish source refers unambiguously to the use of Greek biblical versions by Jews in Byzantium, and we have no Jewish manuscripts of the entire Bible in Greek, or even of the Pentateuch. We do, however, have some continuous texts in manuscripts, as well as a printed version of the Pentateuch [...]. The absence of more extensive manuscripts does not necessarily mean that these never existed: we should bear in mind the enormous losses of manuscripts in Byzantium. It is clear from booklists and stray leaves of otherwise unknown works that many texts, even ones that were once quite widely distributed, have disappeared.[116]

This continuity can be proved by different Jewish Greek Bible codices, scrolls, amulets, Bible commentaries, glossaries, scholia, and epigraphic evidence.[117] This unbroken tradition includes also the usage of Greek Bible codices in synagogal readings and possible monolingual regular readings of Torah in the first centuries CE. Concerning the language of the Torah reading, the Rabbinic preference for Hebrew as the only 'holy language' and for Aramaic as the *Targum's* translation should not always be taken historically: hence, there might have been more than the Rabbinic normative Hebrew-Aramaic reading, for example possible monolingual Greek, and in a later development of ancient Judaism a possible Hebrew-Greek bilingual reading: "Those scholars who still maintain a relatively monolithic view of synagogal practice in Late

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112 Cf. Boyarin 2007.
113 Rajak 2009, 297.
114 Veltri 2006, 104.
115 De Lange 2013, 147.
116 De Lange 2010, 45.
117 Cf. esp. De Lange 1996, 2015.

Antiquity in which Hebrew recitation is held to be the norm, must project the rabbinic ideal onto the whole Diaspora."[118]

A Greek monolingual synagogal reading[119] may have been the standard not only in the ancient Jewish diaspora but also in some parts of Jewish Palestine in the first century CE when Greek became the Jewish *lingua franca*:[120] "[...] for large numbers of Jews it was also the language in which they were educated, the only language they could read and write, and the language of their religious culture."[121] Hence, independently of questions on the origins of the Septuagint in Hellenistic Judaism, in the context of the monolingual reading the Greek Bible assumes a liturgical function. Only later and following an increasing hebraisation, the Hebrew-Aramaic bilingual reading appeared.[122]

In an assumed monolingual Greek synagogal reading of the Bible the translation is more than just *Targum*: In contrast, the Greek Bible becomes holy in itself, thus representing not only a translation of the Hebrew 'original', but replacing it. To what extent the above mentioned possible Jewish codices of the Greek Bible may be considered as being part of this Greek Jewish tradition of reading needs to be examined in greater detail, also with regard to the relation between oral-mnemonic reading and reading from written manuscripts. However, the continuity of the Jewish-Greek tradition cannot be emphasised enough; also the epigraphic evidence speaks for a prevalence of the Greek in Jewish communities both in Palestine and the diaspora.[123] With regard to the question when and why the monolingual Greek reading evolved to a Hebrew-Aramaic, scholarship is divided: While Smelik assumes both a Rabbinic "regularisation of public translation" in the context of the Usha-period (second century CE) and a Hebrew-Aramaic bilingual reading after the Bar Kokhba revolt (mid-second century CE) in Jewish Palestine and in the Babylonian diaspora,[124] de Lange dates the process of hebraisation to the tenth century:

> It is clear from epigraphical and other sources that in late antiquity the normal language of Jewish worship in Egypt, Asia Minor, and Europa was Greek. It is equally clear that by the tenth century Hebrew had replaced Greek for this purpose, and that public readings from the Bible throughout the Jewish world were conducted in Hebrew. We do not know when or why or how the Hebrew Bible acquired its preeminent position, but an interesting clue is provided by a decree of emperor Justinian I dated 8 February 553, which depicts a Jewish community seriously divided on this issue.[125]

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118 Smelik 2013, 187.
119 Cf. De Lange 2015, 55–60; Smelik 2007, 141; Smelik 2013, 185; Van der Horst 2014, 228; Rajak 2009, 143–152; Edrei/Mendels 2007, 95–101; Lieberman 1942, 59.
120 Cf. Van der Horst 2001.
121 De Lange 2015, 39.
122 Cf. Smelik 2007.
123 Cf. Van der Horst 2014, 228; Smelik 2013, 189.
124 Cf. Smelik 2007, 147.
125 De Lange 2010, 42f.

The *Novella 146 περὶ Ἑβραίων*[126] of the Roman emperor is one of the few meta-texts describing Jewish Greek traditions of reading in ancient synagogues; however, both impact and scope of this decree remain controversial with regard to the influences on historical Jewish reading practices. *Novella 146* consists of a prologue mentioning an inner-Jewish conflict about the language of the liturgical readings as justifying the emperor's jurisdiction, three chapters, and an epilogue. In the first chapter Justinian permits the admission of the Greek language while recommending the usage of the Septuagint but also approving Akilas translation. In the same chapter, he furthermore bans δευτέρωσις (*Deuterosis)*[127] as human invention and 'worthless and vain phrases'. Already Zunz wrote in 1892: "Justinians bekannte Novelle verbreitet mehr Dunkelheit als Licht über diesen Gegenstand [...]."[128] Thus, the *Novella's* interpretation and impact are discussed differently: while Kahle speaks of Greek-speaking Jews as demanding a bilingual Hebrew-Greek reading instead of a monolingual Hebrew practice,[129] de Lange interprets the *Novella* as evidence for a confrontation between the defenders of the Greek traditions and their opponents trying to establish a Hebrew reading practice.[130] Similarly, Smelik regards the *Novella* as a "turning point in reading practices"[131] that turns against the Greek readings and advocates for the Hebrew language. In Veltri's interpretation, the mentioned inner-Jewish conflict is only an excuse for the emperor to justify his theological and political programme aiming at converting the Jews.[132] Furthermore, Stemberger warns that there is no clear evidence of any impact of the *Novella* on Jewish liturgy and reading practices.[133]

3 Conclusions

The importance of examining more closely the Greek evidences of ancient Judaism for the study of ancient Jewish reading practices has been shown in this paper. While neither a wide distribution of biblical manuscripts nor public and regular readings of Torah can be taken for granted in antiquity, Judaism develops into a 'religion of the book' only in the first centuries CE, a time when both synagogal monolingual Greek reading practices and Greek Bible codices appeared. It is argued that the format of the codex can be understood as an important feature of Greek Jewish literary heritage.

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126 Cf. the translation by Kahle 1959, 315–317.
127 The meaning of δευτέρωσις is debated and often interpreted as Greek translation of *Mishnah*, designating *Oral Torah*.
128 Zunz 1892, 11.
129 Kahle 1959, 39–41.
130 Cf. De Lange 2006, 171; De Lange 2016; 2015, 60–67.
131 Smelik 2013, 188.
132 Veltri 2002, 105.
133 Cf. Stemberger 2012a, 137.

Questioning the format of the codex and the presence of *nomina sacra* as exclusively Christian markers of identity blurs the boundaries between Jewish and Christian scribal and reading cultures. The results of this paper have important implications on the understanding of reading practices in ancient synagogues, and highlight the Jewish use of the codex and the ongoing usage of Greek translations in Jewish communities.

In a broader context, the results deliver evidence for shared traditions and reading practices in both ancient Jewish and early Christian communities: the evidence for the early centuries CE argues rather for unparted ways than for clear-cut parted traditions, with regard to reading practices (language, usage in context, shared traditions), literatures (Greek Bible), and material aspects (codex).

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Jan Heilmann
Reading Early New Testament Manuscripts

Scriptio continua, "Reading Aids", and Other Characteristic Features

Introduction

In his recent publication on the production and transmission of early Christian gospels,[1] Scott D. Charlesworth works out criteria to distinguish early Christian manuscripts that have been produced/copied in controlled settings for "public" use from those that have been copied in uncontrolled settings for "private" usage. Charlesworth defines the category "public manuscripts" as "intentionally produced to be read aloud by lectors in Christian meetings."[2] As the main indicators for identifying public manuscripts, he points to "sense breaks," "punctuation," and "lectional signs," which would "greatly assist the task of the lector (ἀναγνώστης)" of "rightly dividing the continuous lines of letters in ancient texts (*scriptio continua*)"[3] during ancient Christian worship.[4] The term "sense break" refers to the *paragraphos*, a horizontal stroke found in the margins of ancient manuscripts. According to W. A. Johnson, on whom Charlesworth relies here, in papyri with literary texts, the *paragraphos* "was added primarily to assist with reading aloud—the typical way in which these literary texts would have been used."[5] Under the term "lectional signs", Charlesworth includes markings on the level of letters and words, i. e. diacritics such as the *trema*, breathings and accents, as well as the apostrophe. In contrast, he suggests that the absence of these "reader's aids" in early manuscripts of New Testament texts indicates a private setting "where MSS were read by individuals or where 'private' readings for family or friends were conducted, there was more leisurely interaction with the text and the need for reader's aids was less pressing."[6]

There is a fundamental methodological problem with Charlesworth's approach: the fragmentary state of most of the papyri he examines does not allow for any definite conclusion about the absence of (in his terminology) "reader's aids," especially diacritics. Even more problematic, in my view, is that he assumes the presence of an official early Christian worship with a communal reading or even a liturgy of the word. However, the question of the broader social context of early Christian worship is not

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1 Cf. Charlesworth 2016. See also his preliminary studies: Charlesworth 2006, 2009, 2012.
2 Charlesworth 2016, 31.
3 Charlesworth 2016, 31.
4 It is common to link these so-called scribal features to (official) reading practices in early Christian worship. See, e. g., Aland 1989, 29f; Aland 2004, 109; Kruger 2013, 27, fn. 69; Hurtado 2006a, 171–185
5 Johnson 1994, 68.
6 Charlesworth 2016, 31.

the topic of this paper. In the following, I rather focus on the material dimension of the assumed interconnection between specific features in early New Testament manuscripts and early Christian worship.

This article is divided into two main parts. I will start by challenging certain conclusions drawn from the fact that New Testament manuscripts (as most of the ancient Greek papyri) were written in *scriptio continua*. Since this is particularly important for the topic of this article, it will be discussed in some detail. In a second step, I will discuss the function of other characteristic features of early New Testament manuscripts. I will primarily focus on diacritics (breathings, accents, diaereses) and the apostrophe. Short remarks on *ektheseis*, *paragraphoi*, and the so-called "nomina sacra" will follow.

Reading *Scriptio Continua*

The most striking characteristic not only of New Testament manuscripts, but almost all Greek manuscripts from antiquity (irrespective of the medium), is that they are written without spaces between words (*scriptio continua*). Scholars commonly suppose that texts written in *scriptio continua* are more difficult to decode than texts with spaces between words (*scriptio discontinua*). Therefore, *scriptio continua* would need to be decoded by auditory cognition through vocal realization of the text. The most elaborated defense of this view can be found in P. Saenger's book "Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading,"[7] and it is a view commonly accepted in Classical Studies as well as New Testament Studies.[8] However, the arguments of P. Saenger and others for the thesis that texts in *scriptio continua* were designed to be read aloud cannot carry the burden of proof for the proposed interrelationship. On the contrary, they presuppose precisely what must be proved.

The view that ancient *scriptio continua* had to be decoded phonologically is, on the one hand, based on outdated theories of word recognition;[9] on the other hand, it is based on the postulated primacy of orality over literacy in ancient societies, specifically on the *communis opinio* that reading in antiquity was almost exclusively done aloud. This thesis was first formulated in the nineteenth century from a perspective of cultural pessimism[10] and later expounded by J. Balogh in 1927: "Der Mensch des

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7 Cf. Saenger 1997. But cf. already Balogh 1927, 228f; Schubart 1921, 80f; Sedgwick 1929, 93; Marrou 1956, 134; Mavrogenes 1980, 693.
8 See, e. g., Lefèvre 1990, 14f; Vogt-Spira 1991, 295, fn. 2; Raible 1991b; Parkes 1993, 10f; Frank 1994, 36–42; Usener 1994, 96; Gamble 1995, 203f; Small 1997, 21, 53 and passim; Hezser 2001, 463f; Ehlers 2001, passim; Vegge 2006, 345; Hellholm 2006, 256f.; Hurtado 2006a, 179f; Hurtado 2009, 78; Charlesworth 2009, 148; Oestreich 2012, 67.123.174; Luz 2014, 164; Carr 2015, 12f.
9 For the limitations of the theory of the "Bouma-shape" and the Dual Route Cascaded Model (Coltheart), see Christmann 2015 with further references.
10 Cf. Nietzsche 1886, 207.382; Norden 1898, 6.

Altertums las und schrieb in der Regel laut; das Gegenteil war zwar nicht unerhört, doch immer eine Ausnahme".[11] It is still taken for granted today. Furthermore, it is presumed that ancient literature was generally produced for public delivery and performance.[12] Well-argued counterproposals[13] have not been accepted against this standard view, which has become a quasi-dogma.[14]

However, the standard view on reading aloud in antiquity is misleading for several reasons. I will provide only a few brief remarks. First of all, the simple distinction between reading aloud and reading silently is too narrow to describe the functional aspect of reading in antiquity, and it restricts the scope of sources under discussion. In my view, a more precise description of the reading practices reflected in the sources must distinguish between "use of the voice," on the one hand, and "volume/acoustic perceptibility" on the other. The sources clearly show that ancient readers could read with vocalization, subvocalization, or without vocalization. Reading with vocalization or subvocalization can further be described on a scale from loud to quiet. Non-vocalized reading is silent from the perspective of the outside observer, at least as concerns the voice of the reader. Moreover, the "inner reading voice" during reading without vocalization is often forgotten in discussions of reading in antiquity. The "inner reading voice" is not only reflected in ancient sources[15] but is also applicable to reading in our times.[16] It is therefore misleading to understand silent reading as a mere act of scanning a text and obtaining direct access to the information. Cognitive neuroscience shows that the phonological center of our brain is involved in every reading process.[17]

Thus, the common opinion that ancient readers generally read aloud and mostly in groups is based on a romantic view of antiquity originating in the nineteenth century. Of course, there are documented instances in which a person reads a text aloud for others. It is also documented that ancient readers did read texts for themselves with vocalization, but in that case it was done with a special purpose, e. g., aesthetic

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11 Balogh 1927, 220.

12 Cf., e. g., Roberts 1970, 49; Havelock 1986, 47; Müller 1994, 18–30; Gamble 1995, passim; Jaffee 2001, 26; Kivy 2009, 16; Botha 2010, passim; Botha 2012, passim.

13 Cf., e. g., Knox 1968; Gavrilov 1997; Burnyeat 1997; Svenbro 1999, 2002, 2005; Burfeind 2002.

14 For this correct evaluation, see Krasser 1996, 170f.

15 Cf. Plut. mor. 961a; Aug. conf. 12,12.18; 13,44 etc.; Tractatus in Iohannis Euangelium 96,4; ep. 92,6; Leo M., Sermones 27,7,1. Furthermore, "hearing" a text does not necessarily mean that someone read a text aloud or that someone else read it to him. There are several instances (especially in private letter conversations) where ἀκούω simply refers to something that is "read". Cf., e. g., Hdt. 1.48; Isokr. Panath. 135–137; Ps.-Long. 7.1–3, Lib. epist. 414.1; 731.5 etc.; Eus. h. e. 1.13.5. And it is well documented that private letters were read mostly without vocalization. Moreover, the syntagma ἤκουσα xy (Gen.) λέγοντος, as an equivalent for the Latin *legere apud* xy *aliquid*, is a common phrase for indicating a citation. See Schenkeveld 1992.

16 See Vilhauer 2016.

17 Cf. Rautenberg/Schneider 2015.

pleasure, physical exercise or rhetorical training.[18] However, the sources do not allow for statistical generalizations as one can find them as the basis of the common opinion outlined above. In unmarked cases, one cannot clearly decide if someone read with or without his voice.

Thus, generalizations about ancient reading practices cannot prove the proposed interrelationship of Greek *scriptio continua* on the one hand and vocalized and subvocalized reading on the other. In contrast, we do have evidence suggesting that reading *scriptio continua* did not lead on to any particular cognitive difficulties.

a) The results of cross-cultural experiments demonstrate that readers socialized in a writing system with *scriptio continua* can read this script without difficulties. To better understand the results of these recent studies, some brief remarks on the physiology of reading may be helpful.[19]

Eye movement during the reading process is structured in a sequence of so called "saccades" (fast forward movements, on average about 200–250 ms), "fixations" at a "preferred viewing location" (moments of stopping, on average about 20–40ms), and "regressions" (fast backward movements, on average 10–15 % of the speed of the "saccades"). Normally, the "preferred viewing location" (PVL) is just left of the center of a word, whereby on average 30 % of the words are skipped. The term "parafoveal preview" describes the phenomenon during reading whereby the brain processes not only the currently fixed word, but also the letters/words right of the "fixation" (the so called perceptual span). "Parafoveal" refers to an area of the visual field that is up to 5° around the center of visual perception, which is to be distinguished from peripheral perception. The information obtained in parafoveal perception controls eye movement—especially the length of the next "saccade," and thus the next point of "fixation." It then follows that for efficient control of eye movements, word boundaries must be recognized parafoveally. The question now is how exactly these word boundaries are identified.

Scholars commonly assume that readers identify word boundaries by means of spaces between words. This is concluded from empirical data demonstrating that average readers socialized in modern "western" scripts read English texts in *scriptio continua* slower and that the PVL shifts from the middle of the word to the beginning of the word. Hence, P. Saenger and other scholars conclude that it would have been difficult for people in antiquity to read *scriptio continua* and that they therefore needed to realize it phonologically by reading their texts aloud. However, this is methodologically problematic in that this research data is based exclusively on test subjects that have been socialized in modern "western" scripts and untrained in reading *scriptio continua*. Moreover, the results of J. Epelboim's studies in the 1990s suggest that one can train the

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18 Cf. Krasser 1996, 190–206.
19 For the following, cf. Rayner 1998; Starr/Rayner 2001; Schotter/Angele/Rayner 2012; Ashby et al. 2012.

eye to read *scriptio continua* and that spaces between words are not the primary factor controlling eye movement.[20] Recent studies in fact indicate that the unconscious sensitivity to the frequency of certain letter combinations at the beginning and ending of words has a crucial function for word recognition during the reading process.[21]

For word recognition in ancient Greek *scriptio continua*, A. Vatri has convincingly argued that it is precisely this unconscious sensitivity to certain letter combinations that is central. His judgment is based on the results of recent cross-cultural comparative studies on reading, on the one hand, and his own analysis of the frequency of word beginnings and endings in ancient Greek on the other. Recent cross-cultural comparative studies show that the addition of spaces between words is redundant and can even disrupt the reading process.[22] In the case of Thai script, which is an unspaced alpha-syllabic script, it could be shown "that the eye movements of Thai readers are exactly the same as those of English readers: the saccades land on the normal PVL, left of the middle of the words."[23] This is of particular relevance for Greek *scriptio continua*, in that the Thai script as an unspaced alpha-syllabic script is more comparable to that of ancient Greek than the Liberian Vai syllabary, which P. Saenger refers to.[24] It can be concluded from these data that "the readers' deep-rooted habits play a major role, and this must also have applied to the ancient readers of *scriptura continua*. [...] [T]here is no reason to assume that reading unspaced text is a particularly demanding cognitive task in itself, and Saenger's model must be rejected."[25] "No physiological constraints prevent the Greeks from reading silently."[26]

b) Furthermore, the ancient sources do not give any indication of such difficulties.[27] The ancient sources cited to prove the supposed difficulty of reading *scriptio continua* cannot bear the burden of proof. These sources should rather be interpreted within the context of the process of learning to read and/or improving reading ability[28] or

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20 Cf. Epelboim/Booth/Steinman 1994; Epelboim et al. 1997; see also the controversy between Epelboim/Booth/Steinman 1996, on the one hand, and Rayner/Pollatsek 1996, on the other hand.

21 Cf. Pitchford/Ledgeway/Masterson 2008.

22 Cf. Vatri 2012, 638 f., referring to Kajii/Nazir/Osaka 2001; Sainio et al. 2007, Bai et al. 2008. See also the results of the more recent study Bassetti/Lu 2016. For readers socialized in the German language, it has been proven that the addition of spaces within long composite nouns hinders the decoding of meaning. Cf. Inhoff/Radach/Heller 2000.

23 Vatri 2012, 639, referring to Winskel/Radach/Luksaneeyanawin 2009, 349 f.

24 Cf. Vatri 2012, 639, referring to Saenger 1997, 4.

25 Vatri 2012, 639.

26 Vatri 2012, 646 f.

27 Against, e. g., Parkes 1993, 10 f.; Oestreich 2012, 67; Mugridge 2016, 71, fn. 4.

28 Cf. Dion. Hal. comp. 25; Quint. inst. or. 1.1.34 (context: rhetorical education); Lukian. adv. ind. 2; Petron. sat. 75.4 (cf. Krasser 1996, 173 f). The examples of Greek papyri with spaces between words or syllables are school exercises (cf. Cribiore 1996, passim) and should be interpreted within the context of alphabetization. They do not demonstate the proposed cognitive challenges in reading *scriptio continua*. Against Cribiore 1996, 8 f.47 f.148 f.

within the context of discourses about illiteracy.[29] This is not the place for a discussion of these sources; I do this in detail in my habilitation thesis. Moreover, some of the sources cited to prove the supposed difficulty of reading *scriptio continua* refer to Latin texts,[30] which were not written in *scriptio continua* until the early imperial period. Finally, it must be emphasized that scribal errors due to *scriptio continua*[31] do not prove that reading *scriptio continua* would have been particularly demanding.

c) Moreover, the fact that the Romans replaced their habit of writing *scriptio discontinua* with *scriptio continua* in the second century CE shows that *scriptio continua* is not a characteristic of deficient writing systems.[32] R. P. Oliver drew attention to the late introduction of *scriptio continua* in Latin already in 1951. In the 1970s, E. O. Wingo studied Latin word separation in detail: „The practice of word-division was standard in Etruscan and it was probably from this source that it entered into Latin, where it is found in the very earliest inscriptions such as the *lapis niger* [CIL I².1] and the *fibula Praenestina*[33] [CIL I².3].[34] The word-divider is regularly found on all good inscriptions,[35] in papyri,[36] on wax tablets, and even in *graffiti* from the earliest Republican times through the Golden Age and well into the Second Century."[37]

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29 Cf. Gell. 13.31.

30 Cf. Quint. inst. or. 1.1.34; Petron. sat. 75.4; Gell. 13.31.

31 Cf., e. g., Athen. deipn. 1.11b referring to Hom. Il. 24.476; Serv. Aen. 2.798 referring to Aen. 2.289; Pomp. (Gram.) referring to Verg. Aen. 8.83 (GL 5, ed. Keil, p. 132). See also Brinkmann 1912.

32 In the ancient Greek world, too, one can detect a development from *scriptio discontinua* to *scriptio continua*. On word separations in Mycenaean and Archaic Greek inscriptions, see Wingo 1972, 14; Turner 1968, 57. Cretan inscriptions feature word separations as late as the 6th century. Cf. Gagarin/ Perlman 2016, 51.

33 On the question of authenticity cf. Simone 2011.

34 There are, however, also examples of early Latin inscriptions from the seventh to fifth century BCE written in *scriptio continua*. Cf. Wallace 2011, 22. For more information on early Latin inscriptions see Hartmann 2005. Yet this does not affect the problem dealt with here because word separation had been the standard since the Roman Republic. See also Wallace 2011, 23.

35 A well-known example is the inscription on the sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus from the third century BCE (CIL I².7).

36 Oliver refers to the following examples: P. Iand. 5 90 (CLA 8 1201; Cic. Verr. 2 2,3f.; 1st c. BCE/1st c. CE); P. Herc. 817 (CLA 3 385; *Carmen de bello Actiaco*; 1st c. BCE/1st c. CE); P. Oxy. 1 30 (CLA 2 207; fr. *de bellis Macedonicis*; 1st/2nd c.). Cf. especially the list of papyri and inscriptions in Wingo 1972, 15: 134–163. This list could be extended with numerous other examples. Cf., e. g., BGU II 611 (oration of Claudius; 1st c. CE). The fragments of the elegies of Gallus can also be added (1st c. BCE); they were only published in 1979 and show word separations with middle dots. Cf. Anderson/Parsons/Nisbet 1979 for this. Cf., e. g., also the following documentary papyri/ostraca with word separations: SB 16 12609 [!] (debt document; 27 CE); ChLA 10 424 (private letter of recommendation; 1st c. CE); P. Oxy. 44 3208 (private letter; 1st c. BCE/1st c. CE); P. Berol. 7428 (list of veterans, 140 CE) or the numerous private letters from Didymoi, published by A. Bülow-Jacobsen in 2012, dating to the second half of the 1st c. CE: e. g. O. Did. 326; O. Did. 334; O. Did. 362; O. Did. 429.

37 Wingo 1972, 15. The transition from writing with frequent word separations to *scriptio continua* is documented impressively by the heterogeneous evidence of the Vindolanda tablets (around the turn

Particularly noteworthy is papyrus PSI 7 743 from the first or second century, which features Greek text in Latin transliteration with word separations. There is also a Greek inscription with word separations from Kom Ombi, Egypt (SB 5 8905 [88 CE]), where the application of Latin conventions seems probable, since the (dedicatory) inscription was funded by a Roman woman.

The differences between the conventions of the writing systems prior to the second century are also reflected in literary texts. Suetonius (Aug. 87.3), for example, finds it peculiar that Augustus did not separate individual words in his hand-written scripts (*non dividit verba*).[38] Reflecting on what makes for a thoughtful philosophical speech (neither too slow nor too fast, cf. also Sen. ep. 40.8.13f.), Seneca (ep. 40.10f.) compares Greek and Roman systems of writing: he associates Greek not with the difficulties of deciphering *scriptio continua*, but with speed. As for the word separation of Latin script, it is thought to reflect the opposite of *licentia*; that is, it is restrained in a way that not only reflects the thoughtfulness of the speech, but also the Latin language more generally.

In summary, there is no need to assume that reading unspaced scripts was any more cognitively challenging for ancient readers than reading spaced scripts is for us.[39] We should be careful not to project our difficulties with reading *scriptio continua* onto ancient readers.

Characteristics of Early New Testament Manuscripts

After deconstructing the commonly proposed interconnection between writing texts in *scriptio continua* and the alleged practice of only reading aloud in antiquity, I would now like to discuss the characteristics of early New Testament manuscripts (papyri and majuscules dated to the 2nd/3rd century). Here, the main focus will be on the function of diacritics (breathings, accents, *trema/diaereses*) as well as the apostrophe. As I already pointed out in the introduction, scholars mainly interpret diacritics,

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from 1st/2nd century). Also Adams 1995, 95f. Whereas, for instance, in T. Vindol. II 297; 315; 323; 345 almost all words are separated from each other with a middle dot, in many other tablets the words are separated with spaces [!] (e. g. T. Vindol. II 296; 299; 301; 316; 343); only a few (e. g. T. Vindol. II 292) are in *scriptio continua*, while featuring analogous phenomena concerning the separation of abbreviations via spaces and middle dots (cf., e. g., T. Vindol. 291, l. 1), which can also be found in papyri from Dura Europos (see below). On the issue of this transition, cf. further Müller 1964.

38 Cf. Krasser 1996, 175, fn. 13. It is also interesting that Augustus used these unspaced notes as an aid for speeches and even for conversations with his wife Livia (cf. Suet. Aug. 8.2). This means that in these situations he could visually comprehend the notes without any difficulty.

39 Already hinted at by Turner 1968, 57: "Regular reading of such continuous texts may make the reader quick at dividing words."

punctuation, *dicola*, *paragraphoi*, etc., as aids for reading aloud or for performative readings. In the following, I will examine the manuscript evidence and show that this interpretation cannot be sustained.

1) As in other manuscripts of the Hellenistic and early Roman period, breathings are rare in early New Testament manuscripts and, if they do occur, it is usually a rough breathing (ⵜ). However, most of the rough breathings found in the manuscripts function to indicate a semantic ambiguity in case of monosyllabic words (see Tab. 1). They seem never to be found simply as phonetic markers.

It follows from this that the question of proper phonological realization had not been of interest for those who marked these ambiguous monosyllabic words.[40] Parallels can also be found in non-Christian papyri—even in those clearly not intended to function as scripts for performative readings.[41]

2) Accents are even rarer in early New Testament manuscripts. However, if they can be found, they also appear to disambiguate meaning. In 𝔓1 (P. Oxy. 1 1) vᵒ.14 (Matt 1:18), the acute accent on ἡ distinguishes the particle from the article or from the ending or beginning letter of the surrounding words. In 𝔓46 (P. Beatty 2) f. 26vᵒ.7 (Hebr 6:16), the acute accent on πέρας perhaps distinguishes the noun from the dative plural feminine of πέρα or from forms of the verb περάω. In 𝔓66 (P. Bodm. II) f. 101.8 (John 13:29), the acute accent potentially helps to disambiguate (ε)-δοκουν from the participle of δοκοω. This may have been thought necessary because the augment was written in the previous line.

B. Laum concluded already in his 1928 study "Das alexandrinische Akzentuationssystem unter Zugrundelegung der theoretischen Lehren der Grammatiker und mit Heranziehung der praktischen Verwendung in den Papyri":

> Die Lesezeichen dienen dazu, bei Wörtern bzw. Buchstaben- und Wortverbindungen, die verschieden gedeutet werden können, dem Leser die richtige Auffassung klar zu machen. [...] Vor allem werden jene Wörter, die in der Buchstabenzusammensetzung gleich sind, aber je nach der Bedeutung verschieden betont werden können, mit dem zukommenden Akzent versehen. [...] Alle Zeichen (Akzente, Spiritus, Quantitäten und Diastolai) dienen also dem Zwecke, an mehrdeutigen Stellen dem Leser die richtige Auffassung kenntlich zu machen."[42]

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40 It is not certain whether marking monosyllabic words is a scribal habit or whether it goes back to the beginning of the textual transmission.

41 Cf., e. g., P. Oxy. 15 1809 (I/II; Plat. Phaid. 102e with extended scholia in the margins): col. 2.6f. The diacritical signs might even be from the same hand as the commentary (cf. CPF I.1***. 223); P. Berol. inv. 9782 (II; commentary manuscript): e. g. Pl. C rᵒ col. 1.1; Pl. O rᵒ col. 3.35; 38. Cf. also P. Berol. inv. 21245, fr. a rᵒ (4th c.; fragments from Isocrates orations), bilingual lat.-gr.; *spiritus lenis* and *acute* disambiguate the participle ὄντας (εἰμί), which could be confused with the pronoun ὄν and the article τάς especially at the end of the line; and the *spiritus* on the monosyllabic words οὐ, ὁ and ὡς in P. Cairo. Masp. 3 67295 (6th c.).

42 Laum 1928, 451f.

Tab. 1: Examples for rough breathings in early NT Papyri.

Gregory-Aland[43] standard abbreviation	reference	function
𝔓13 (III/IV) P. Oxy. 4 657	f. 47vᵒ.21; 27 (Hebr 3:6, 8)[44]	ὁυ: relative pronoun vs. adverb
𝔓15 ([III]/IV) P. Oxy. 7 1008	rᵒ.5 (1Cor 7:20)[45] vᵒ.13 (1Cor 7:24)	ἡ: article vs. particle (disjunctive/comparative or adverb) ὡ: disambiguation of the relative pronoun
𝔓45 (III) P. Beatty 1	f. 10vᵒ.5 (Luke 9:48)[46] f. 16rᵒ.15 (John 10:16)	ὁς: disambiguation of the relative pronoun (could be confused with ενος due to the ending -εν) εἰς: numeral vs. preposition εἰς
𝔓46[47] (200–225) P. Beatty 2	f. 16rᵒ.17 (Rom 12:5) *passim*[48] f. 50rᵒ.18 (1Cor 10:17)	ἑν: numeral vs. preposition εἰς: numeral vs. preposition εἰς
𝔓66[49] (III) P. Bodm. II	f. 101.10 (John 13:29)	ὡν: relative pronoun vs. present participle (εἰμί)
𝔓77 (III) P. Oxy. 64 4405	f. vᵒ.2 (Matt 23:35)	ὁν: relative pronoun vs. present participle (εἰμί)
𝔓104 (II) P. Oxy. 64 4404	rᵒ.5f. (Matt 21:35)[50]	ὁν: relative pronoun vs. present participle (εἰμί)
𝔓113 (III) P. Oxy. 66 4497	vᵒ.5 (Rom 2:29)	ὁυ: relative pronoun vs. adverb

Laum evaluated Homer scholia and numerous papyri in which breathings and accents function to disambiguate meaning.[51] Yet, as G. Nagy states rightly, "Laum's work has not received the attention it deserves. References by later scholars tend to focus on details that need to be corrected."[52]

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43 For the dating of the New Testament papyri, cf. Orsini/Clarysse 2012.

44 E. g. no rough breathing on αγιοι, f. 47vᵒ.11 (Hebr 3:1).

45 E. g. no rough breathing on the relative pronoun, vᵒ.9.

46 E. g. no rough breathing on the relative pronoun ος following και, f. 10vᵒ.6.

47 The spiritus asper on the conjunction η in 𝔓49 (III/IV; P. Yale 2 86, vᵒ.8; Eph 5:3) must be an error. Cf. Biondi 1983, 26.

48 For this, cf. Ebojo 2013, 134, who mentions finding several dozen instances of the phenomenon in 𝔓46. Unfortunately, he does not list them individually.

49 In the first line of f. 102 there may be a spiritus lenis that disambiguates the preposition.

50 E. g. no rough breathing on the relative pronoun οι, rᵒ.4.

51 Cf. Laum 1928, 327–452.

52 Nagy 2000, 15.

3) More often—even regularly—one finds the *trema/diaeresis* in early Christian man-uscripts.[53] Following the practice found in other manuscripts of the Hellenistic and early Roman period, one could distinguish between the "organic" use of the *trema,* "to separate those vowels in a cluster that do not belong together" [...] [JH: between or inside words], and the "inorganic" use of the *trema* "very often simply to mark an ini-tial vowel" or "to emphasize a final vowel."[54] Inorganic uses of the *trema* are generally found only on iota and upsilon,[55] as may be seen in the following examples.

Particularly instructive is, for instance, the use of the *trema* in John 1:29 in 𝔓66 (P. Bodm. II) and 𝔓75 (P. Bodmer 14–15), both 3rd c. CE. In 𝔓66 f. 3, line 21, there is a *trema* on the initial iota of ιδε, even though the previous middle dot already indicates the separation of syllables/words (λε-γει·ϊδε). In contrast, 𝔓75 has no middle dot in the same place, so the *trema* actually functions to indicate a diaeresis. One can find the same phenomenon, e. g., in John 1:36 (f. 4, line 18[56]) and elsewhere. This redundancy may have arisen because the writer of 𝔓66 wrote the *trema* for conventional reasons or adopted it from his *Vorlage*. It is questionable whether the scribe of 𝔓66 would have conceived the *trema* as a reading aid at all. Moreover, in P. Oxy. 3 405, col. 2.19f (2nd/3rd c. CE; Iren. adv. haer.), we find a *trema* within a quotation from Matt 3:16f, on the first letter of a word beginning a new line. Incidentally, the quotation is marked by diple (>) in the margin, which is intended as a visual aid.[57] Moreover, we see the *trema* in manuscripts containing commentaries, which were presumably not intended for performative readings.[58]

From this evidence, it seems doubtful that the *trema* should be categorized as a "lectional sign that guides pronunciation"[59] or that the *trema* should be brought into the context of performative or communal readings. Such a notion is also contradicted also by statistical findings.[60]

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53 Cf. Mugridge 2016, 83f for the statistical findings.

54 E. g. Turner 1987, 12f.

55 For "inorganic" use in New Testament manuscripts, see, e. g., 𝔓52 (P. Ryl. Gr. 3 457) v°.2; 𝔓5 (P. Oxy. 1 208) f. 1r°.19; 𝔓45 (P. Beatty 1) f. 5v°.8 etc.; 459x in 𝔓46 (P.Beatty 2; cf. Ebojo 2013, 134); 𝔓66 (P.Bodm. II) f. 1.12; f. 3.13; f. 3.6 etc.; 𝔓75 (P. Bodmer 14–15) 44v°; 𝔓18 (P. Oxy. 8 1079) v°.14); 𝔓22 (P. Oxy. 10 1228) v°.12.

56 In 𝔓75, 45r°.7 there might be an upper dot. This is, however, not clear from the digitized version. Only autopsy would bring further clarity.

57 Diog. Laert. 3.1.65f counts diple among the signs (σημεῖα) in "useful" editions of Plato's writings, and—as Antigonos of Karystos reports—owners of such editions gave other people access to them for money: ἅπερ Ἀντίγονός φησιν ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζήνωνος νεωστὶ ἐκδοθέντα εἴ τις ἤθελε διαναγνῶναι, μισθὸν ἐτέλει τοῖς κεκτημένοις.

58 See, e. g., P. Berol. inv. 9782, Pl. C r° col. 1.23; 25; col. 2.44 f; col. 3.5; Pl. E r° col. 1.17; Pl. O r° col. 3 36, *passim*.

59 Nässelqvist 2016, 25. Also against Junack 1981, 283.

60 In A. Mugridge's category F (liturgical and hymnic texts) only 12.1 % of the manuscripts feature *tremata*, while they can be found in 31.6 % of New Testament papyri, in 41.7 % of the papyri with Bib-lical apocrypha, and in 40 % of the papyri with Patristic texts. Cf. Mugridge 2016, 86.

4) The use of the apostrophe in early New Testament papyri is also illuminating. Similar to other manuscripts from the Hellenistic and the early imperial period, the apostrophe functions to indicate elision. Taking into account the fact that parafoveal word recognition in *scriptio continua* is guided primarily by letter combinations at the beginning and especially the end of words, as we saw above, the function of the apostrophe in the reading process becomes clear. If a letter is omitted for phonetic reasons, the apostrophe ensures regular word recognition. The process of parafoveal word recognition may also shed light on the common practice in early New Testament manuscripts of marking the end of indeclinable Semitic names with an apostrophe, something which scholars commonly recognize without any further explanation.[61] Because of their unusual endings, these names are marked with an apostrophe so that the reader can identify them parafoveally. The practice of marking foreign words with an apostrophe is also widespread among documentary papyri.[62] Therefore, the apostrophe is neither an aid for reading texts aloud nor a sign used for "clarity of pronunciation in the public reading."[63] Instead, it is intended as an *aid for word recognition*, which can support the parafoveal perception of texts when reading aloud, but particularly functions in different modes of non-vocalized individual reading.

In conclusion, the occurrence of breathings and accents as well as the *trema* and apostrophe in early New Testament manuscripts does not permit one to infer their primary context of use. It is also not possible to conclude that they functioned "to enable a wider spectrum of people to read them, including readers of sub-elite social levels."[64] One should note that these features can also be found in inscriptions[65] and non-Christian papyri which were clearly used for study purposes—in grammatical textbooks,[66] in manuscripts with commentaries[67] or with annotations (in the margin

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61 See, e. g., Turner 1987, 8.11. Ebojo 2013, 133 states: "the function of which is not immediately ascertainable."

62 Cf. Ast 2017, 151.

63 Metzger 1962, 201; Charlesworth 2009, 160.

64 Hurtado 2014, 337 referring to Hurtado 2011, 2012.

65 For the *trema*, see, e. g., IG II² 2291b.3 (2nd c. CE; the *trema* on ἵνα prevents its first two letters from becoming confused with the ending -ασιν in the context); IG II² 2089.42 (2nd c. CE; on the first iota of a name); IG II² 4514.25 (2nd c. CE). Cf. Threatte 1980, 94–97. For the rough breathing, see, e. g., IG II² 3662.9 (2nd c. CE; image at https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456492 (last accessed 04.03.2019): disambiguating the relative pronoun ὍΣ, which could be mistaken for the ending of ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ. Cf. also IG II² 12664.7 (1st c. CE); IG II² 2270.6 (2nd c. CE?); IG II² 3714.12 (3rd c. CE); IG II² 3811.10 (before 250 CE). For this, cf. Threatte 1980,97f; Larfeld 1907, 428 also points out IG XIV 645, a very old inscription from the end of the 4th c. BCE, in which the *spiritus asper* is used. For the apostrophe, see, e. g., IG II² 13131.5 (1st c. CE); IG II² 12664.8 (1st c. CE); IG II² 11040.2 (2nd c. CE); IG II² 3714.12 (around 200 CE); IG II² 12617,2f.7. Cf. Threatte 1980, 97f.

66 Cf. the accents in P. Berol. inv. 9917 (around 300).

67 Cf., e. g., the *tremata* in P. Berol. 9780 rᵒ (2nd/3rd c.; commentary by Didymos on Demosthenes orations).

or interlinear).[68] Even more impressive are diacritics in lists or other documentary papyri, which makes it very unlikely that diacritics were used for performative readings. Thus, marking ambiguous monosyllabic words, using the apostrophe and the *trema* as well as sense-unit divisions marked by *ektheseis* and *paragraphoi* (see below) do not seem to have been the habit of single scribes, but were rather a general scribal or even cultural convention.[69] Hence, the idea of a "pure" *scriptio continua*-text in the autograph or initial text (often presupposed in New Testament exegesis and textual criticism) is misleading.[70] However, the exact reconstruction of those markings in the autographs as well as in the initial text seems to be difficult.

To get a more complete picture of the features of New Testament manuscripts, I would like to add a few remarks on *ektheseis* and *paragraphoi*, which occasionally occur in early New Testament manuscripts and function as sense breaks.[71] As already mentioned in the introduction, Charlesworth, following W. A. Johnson, suggests that the *paragraphos* assists in reading literary texts aloud (in communal readings). However, there is evidence against this thesis: *Paragraphoi* are also found in commentary texts[72] and medical treatises[73] as well as in documentary papyri and ostraca.[74] Thus, in ancient manuscripts the *paragraphos* as well as *ektheseis* function to structure marks in a broader sense and not necessarily as aids for reading a text aloud.

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68 Cf., e.g., P. Berol. inv. 13236 (2nd/3rd c.)—a fragment of a codex containing Thuc. hist. (2.65.6–8; 65.12; 67.2; 68.1–5; 79.5–6; 80.3–6; 81.1–3; 81.8–82), whose text includes acute accent, circumflex accent, grave accent, breathings and scholia from the same hand. Cf. on the scholia McNamee 2007, 444 f. In P. Oxy. 52 3680 (2nd c.; Plat. Tht.) a commentary from a second hand that features an apostrophe can be found in the margin. Cf. for this McNamee 2007, 351. Further, the evidence in P. Oxy. 15 1808 (2nd c.) is instructive: the fragment from Plato's Republic contains diacritical signs (e. g. a *trema* and a *spiritus asper*) and numerous quickly written margin notes (shorthand and abbreviations). McNamee 2007, 20 f.352, suggests that the margin notes could have been written under time pressure during a lecture or speech. In this case, it would clearly not be a manuscript meant for public reading. In P. Berol. inv. 21355 (2nd c.) there is an apostrophe that indicates an elision in a scholion. In P. Berol. 5865 (3rd/4th c.), the remains of a codex with Aratus scholia, there are *tremata*, apostrophes, *spiritus asper* as well as different reference signs (e. g. a small cross and a *diple*). Cf. for this with references to other papyri Maehler 1980. Cf. further P. Oxy. 47 3326 (2nd c.; Plat. rep.; cf. McNamee 2007, 352); P. Oxy. 18 2176 (2nd c.; commentary on Hipponax with scholia; cf. McNamee 2007, 265 f.) and the evidence in fn. 41. Cf. also the autographical concept of a prose text from the 2nd c. BCE (P. Berol. 11632), which also includes accents.
69 Cf. Adams 2015, 65: "[T]he use of sense-unit divisions needs to be viewed as a scribal convention and part of a culturally conditioned writing practice."
70 Against Dronsch 2010, 244 f.
71 See, e. g., Porter 2005. However, many of the early New Testament papyri are too fragmentary to draw conclusions about sense-unit divisions.
72 Cf., e. g., P. Berol. inv. 11749 (second fragment on the didactics of surgery); commentary on Plat. pol.); P. Berol. 9780 r° (see above); P. Heid. G inv. 28 (3rd c.; commentary on Plat. Phaid.).
73 Cf., e. g., P. Berol. inv. 9764 (1st c.); P.Ant. 1 28 (3rd–6th c.; Hippokr. Aph. 1.1–3; prog. 24f).
74 Cf., e. g., P. Berol. inv. 5855 r° 20/21, 23/24, 25/26 (= BGU 10 1971; receipt, 2nd c. BCE); P. Berol. inv. 9765 r° Kol. 2, l. 2/3 (medical recipes, 2nd c. CE); P. Köln inv. 21107, l. 20/21 (= P. Köln XI 448; instructions

Additionally, the *nomina sacra*, which can be found in nearly all early New Testament manuscripts, were intended primarily for visual perception. *Nomina sacra* are a system of contractions for important names in the New Testament writings—usually the first and last letter of a name (sometimes three letters) are marked with a supralinear horizontal stroke. It is an unusual form of abbreviation that neither derives from the use of the tetragrammaton nor functions to save space or time in writing. Moreover, the form of *nomina sacra* does not correspond to the usual abbreviation conventions in antiquity, which were characterized primarily by suspensions. In comparison to the diversity of situational abbreviation practices in antiquity there is also a considerably higher degree of standardization.[75] There is evidence that a common set of four names (Θεός, Κύριος, Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός) were regularly written as *nomina sacra*. This suggests that the system was invented quite early, even though its exact origin is controversial. Among the symbolic signs in the New Testament manuscripts, the so-called "staurogram" (⳨), which is also old,[76] is particularly relevant for the question of how the features of New Testament manuscripts relate to early Christian reading practices. The "staurogram" is first used within the abbreviation of the noun σταυρός ($\overline{C \cdot \mathord{\rlap{/}\text{P}} O \Sigma}$), partly also within the abbreviation of the verb σταυρόω (e. g. 𝔓75 42vᵒ 25, Luke 24:7 $\overline{C \cdot \mathord{\rlap{/}\text{P}} \Omega \Theta H N A I}$).[77] It is clear that the "staurogram" is an iconographic sign for the crucifixion.[78] Like the *nomina sacra*, the "staurogram" was invented for visual and not auditory perception. It is incomprehensible—especially in the light of my considerations in the first part of this article—that visual signs like the *nomina sacra* and the "staurogram" functioned as aids for reading New Testament texts aloud in worship, as C. M. Tuckett has proposed.[79] In my view, these signs need to be interpreted within the broader context of other signs in ancient manuscripts that were intended for visual perception, such as acrostics, letter and alphabet plays, palindromes, the phenomenon of isopsephy, pattern poetry,[80] and also graphical representations or small drawings.[81]

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on distribution of grain); P. Berol. inv. 1548 *passim* (=BGU II 499; list of inhabitants, 2nd c. CE); P. Köln inv. 2331 rᵒ (=P. Köln XI 437). Note also the multitude of ostraca: O. Berol. inv. 12331 Z. 6/7 (= BGU VII 1519; notes on payments, 3rd/2nd c. BCE); O. Berol. inv. 513, l. 4/5 (= O. Wilck. 2 701; receipt, 114 BCE); O. Berol. inv. 8616, l. 5/6, 6/7 (accounts, 1st c. CE).

75 See the instructive summary provided by Trobisch 1996, 17–28, referring to corresponding studies of which the study by Paap 1959 in particular is still relevant.

76 𝔓45, 𝔓66, and 𝔓75, so not later than the first half of the 2nd c. CE.

77 Cf. K. Aland 1967; Dinkler-von Schubert 1995.

78 Cf. Hurtado 2000, 280–83; Hurtado 2006b, 219–221.225f., with source evidence showing that Christians understood the Greek letter "tau" as a symbol for the cross from very early on (Barn. 9.7–9; Iust. Mart. apol. 1.55; 1.60; Tert. adv. Marc. 3.22).

79 See Tuckett 2003, 455.

80 Cf. Luz 2010; Ast/Lougovaya 2015.

81 Cf. P. Berol 9875 (Timotheos of Milet, The Persians): This papyrus from the 4th c. BCE features a small drawing between cols. 4 and 5 (Tim. Pers. 214) that is interpreted as a coronis in the form of a bird and functions as a structuring element. For further reference to other papyri featuring ornamental design characteristics, cf. Fischer-Bossert 2005.

Furthermore, no conclusions on the main use of the manuscripts can be drawn from their average line length, either.[82]

In my inspection of the manuscripts dated to the second and third centuries, I could only find a few manuscripts with secondary strokes which seem to indicate when a reader would want to pause while reading the text to an audience. That is, not all texts in these codices were marked with these strokes, but only those texts or passages prepared for a reading;[83] and if they could be found in one of the texts of the codices, they occurred relatively regularly according to the content and syntactic aspects of the text. While the lack of strokes in manuscripts does not preclude the possibility that these texts functioned as scripts for performative readings, those who postulate the thesis that concrete manuscripts functioned as scripts for performative readings need to carry the burden of proof.

Conclusions

The so-called "reading aids" or "lectional signs" in early papyri of the New Testament neither function exclusively to facilitate performative or public readings nor indicate a "liturgical use" of those texts.[84] Breathings, accents, and *tremata* primarily function to clarify semantic ambiguities, while the apostrophe marks the unusual endings of words. These diacritics all functioned to assist in reading without vocalization. Consequently, it is misleading to understand ancient papyrus scrolls mainly as scripts for performative readings[85] or to compare texts in *scriptio continua* to sheet music.[86]

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82 Against Paul H. Saenger 1982, 378; Johnson 2000, 609–612; Hurtado 2006a, 171–77. For my point of view, cf. Battezzato 2009, who proposes that narrow columns function as aids for fast and efficient reading/scanning. It is also significant that the average line length in papyri, which clearly functioned as performance scripts, tended to be significantly wider than the 15–25 letters which in Johnson's view were optimal for word recognition in performative contexts. See, e. g., the papyri with musical notations: P. Vindob. G. 2315; P. Leid. inv. 510; P. Mich inv. 2958; P. Berol. inv. 6870; P. Oxy. 15 1786.

83 Mark and Acts in 𝔓45 (P. Beatty 1), but not Luke and John; in 𝔓46 (P. Beatty 2/P. Mich. inv. 6238) the strokes occur in passages of Romans, the last chapters of 1st Corinthians, and in Hebrews. Cf. Sanders 1935, 17–19; the strokes can also be found in 𝔓37, which cannot be systematically evaluated due to its fragmentary state. According to H. A. Sanders, strokes also occur in 𝔓13 (P. Oxy. 4 657), in 𝔓17 (P. Oxy. 8 1078) and in the LXX papyrus 967 (Rahlfs; P. Beatty 7 9–10; P. Köln Theol. 3ff.). Cf. Sanders 1935, 18.

84 Cf. the judgment of D. Nässelqvist: "Many of the distinctive features—including the lectional signs—that are found in the studied manuscripts do not function as aids to lectors in a public reading context." Nässelqvist 2016, 53.

85 Against, e. g., Johnson 2004, passim; 2009, passim.

86 Against, e. g., Hendrickson 1929, 184.

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Christoph Markschies

What Ancient Christian Manuscripts Reveal About Reading (and About Non-Reading)

For a contribution on key aspects of reading in the various book-based religions of antiquity and their religious groupings, to look at non-reading probably sounds like something of a paradox. Too often however, we have become accustomed (as the term "book-based religion" itself shows) to regarding ancient Jewish, Christian and Muslim communities as first and foremost textual communities i. e. as religious communities which, according to Brian Stock's definition "came to understand their identities through the mediation of written texts, which often were interpreted for them by key individuals."[1] Images of "textual communities" from Jewish, Christian and Muslim life spring to mind immediately: readings during the mass, the liturgical veneration of the book during Christian and Jewish worship, exegesis in Jewish synagogue sermons and Christian homilies, commentaries in Biblical books based on the ancient Alexandrian or Pergamenian commentary technique, excerption, citation, the paraphrasing of biblical texts in various genres, the compilation of lemmatised anthologies such as the Byzantine chain commentaries, the catenae.[2] Besides as textual communities, we also have a tendency to regard the three more or less monotheistic religions (to use, for the sake of simplicity, a term from modern religious studies that is far from unproblematic) of late antiquity as reading communities, as an accumulation of reading circles and of networks circulating reading matter. Religious communities such as in Qumran, monastic movements like the Pachomian abbeys, institutions of higher learning like the Private University of the first Christian polymath Origen in Caesarea Maritima and of course the ancient Christian synods and councils too were, at least in our minds, not just textual but also very much reading communities. That the same Origen in his sermons, which he gave to a house community comprising about thirty members in the late 30s and 40s of the fourth century somewhere near the port of Caesarea Maritima, repeatedly called upon his audience to read up on the biblical texts he was referring to is another example of the existence of both a textual and a reading community.[3] At a synod in the fourth century, to which guests were invited from throughout the empire to discuss problems with Trinitarian theology for example, it is documented that, naturally in the back rooms and during breaks in proceedings, those taking part grappled to arrive at common explanations—usually in the form of what were known as credos. Text drafts, which were also subject to intense discussion, were circulated at these and also significantly amended. In order to do this, it

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1 Stock 1983.—On Christian books and readers in general cf. Gamble 1995 and Nongbri 2018.
2 Kannengiesser 2004 and Markschies 2004, 77–88.
3 Markschies 2007, 35–62.

was imperative that they should be read by individuals or read aloud to groups of course. Some time ago I retraced these procedures in greater detail for a lesser known imperial council—the synod of Sirmium in 359 AD.[4] For our purposes today however, a simple reference to what Stock calls "textual communities" and the importance of certain bishops as "key individuals" will suffice. In this respect we can scarcely doubt that worship-based communities like that of Origen in Caesarea Maritima or ancient Christian synods represent, at least for our purposes, the close relationship between "textual communities" and "reading communities", something which appears to have been not just a characteristic of ancient Christianity.

But is this picture to which we have become accustomed a true one? In the first part of my address this evening, I shall propose a description of the behavior of many ancient people that is loosely based on a rhetorical idea by St. Paul the apostle:[5] having books as if they did not have them, reading as if they did not read. A consideration of the key aspects of the ancient written tradition leads to this what is, at first sight, somewhat absurd or at least surprising conclusion. To begin with, we have become accustomed to arriving at conclusions on the scope and social structure of Christianity as a reading community during antiquity from its well documented preference for the codex, both sides of which could be written on, consequently not only offering more space for text than scrolls, which could only be written on one side, but being less expensive too. It is commonly believed—as documented by Theodore C. Skeat— that the religion empowered people from social strata who, due to their humble socio-educational backgrounds, were unfamiliar with scrolls and the reading thereof, to take advantage of the more affordable codices.[6] Even allowing for William V. Harris however, in particular bearing in mind the greater legibility of the codex as the reason for its rapid spreading within Christian communities,[7] we still cannot get away from the traditional impression of particularly large Christian "reading communities" coming from a wide range of social strata. Even taking into account, as Harris does that, with the conventional pattern of decline in late antiquity, the number of copies of pagan literary texts decreased from the fourth century onwards and the significance of books for the spreading of Christianity is overestimated,[8] clichés like that of a "book-based religion" nevertheless pertain.

To argue against the use of such clichés, I would first like to make reference to a text genre that receives scant attention these days that was hitherto primarily assessed in the history of theology—lists of bishop signatories from the ancient synods and imperial councils. Signatures gleaned from these allow us to draw conclusions about the reading abilities of bishops who attended the councils. Looking at this matter further,

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4 Markschies 2017a, 111–130.

5 In 1. Cor. 7:29.

6 Roberts/Skeat 1983.

7 Harris 1989, 295f.

8 Harris 1989, 298f.

the Greek records of the imperial council of Ephesus in 431 CE (known to be just one of the two bishops' conferences that took place simultaneously in the Asian metropolis) presided over by Bishop Cyril of Alexandria includes a list of signatures with 197 names of bishops who condemned the teachings of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Nestorius, the supporters of whom had gathered at the same location in the Asian metropolis for the aforementioned opposing council. The complex handing down of the records, which were arranged for us by Eduard Schwartz (and after him Thomas Graumann),[9] of course constitutes a mediaesque attempt on the part of Bishop Cyril's party to cast the scandalous story of the subcouncil in a favourable light.

The Latin translation of the records from the imperial council of Ephesus in 431 CE led by Bishop Cyril, for instance, contains an attendance list with the names of 193 bishops who condemned the teachings of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Nestorius, the supporters of whom assembled at the same location in the Asian metropolis in order to form a counter council. Although the Latin translation of the records only contains a list of 193 signatures, the findings are similar. As well as typical information such as "Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria: I have signed",[10] the list contains in some places the statement "Signed on my behalf by the presbyter" (followed by the name of the presbyter or other lower level dignitary such as: "Archdeacon of Aetherius").[11] As well as presbyters i. e. priests who accompanied the bishops, there are also signatures by their counsellors (*notarii*) and in one case, due to illness, by a bishop from a neighbouring town. Since a special note is made of this illness, the proxy signatures on the part of others can only be an indication of the large number of *Illiterati* and analphabets in the kingdom at the time, which is estimated to have been more than sixty percent.[12] In one version of the list of signatures handed down to us, this is also stated explicitly for one bishop whom we will take a look at in greater detail in a moment: "Aetherius, Archdeacon, has signed on his (i. e. the bishop's) behalf because he could not read and write".[13] In other words, bishops who had a deacon, archdeacon, presbyter or *notarius* sign on their behalf, were presumably not able to write. But just how many of the two hundred bishops who supported the polemical patriarch Cyril of Alexandria were not able to write? In the list of the 197 or 193 names of bishops who signed the records at the (sub-)council of Bishop Cyril of Alexandria's followers in

9 Meier (2011), 124–139 and Graumann 2002, 349–392.
10 ACO I/1/2, 55 no. 1 Κύριλλος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλεξανδρείας ὑπέγραψα ἀποφηνάμενος ἅμα τῆι ἁγίαι συνόδωι:—resp. ACO I 1/7, 111 no. 1 Κύριλλος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλεξανδρείας ὑπέγραψα:—resp. ACO I 2, 70 no. 1 *Cyrillus episcopus Alexandriae subscripsi pronuntians cum sancta synodo.* For the whole procedure cf. Weckwerth 2010, 1–30.
11 ACO I/1/2, 63 no. 190 Θεόδωρος ἐπίσκοπος Γαδάρων ὑπέγραψα χειρὶ Αἰθερίου ἀρχιδιακόνου: ACO I 1/7, 116 no. 181 Θεόδωρος ἐπίσκοπος Γαδάρων ὑπέγραψα χειρὶ Αἰθερίου ἀρχιδιακόνου:—resp. ACO I 2, 74 no. 181 *Theodorus episcopus Gadaron subscripsi manu Aetherii archidiaconi.*
12 Brown 1993, 26f or 1995, 53.
13 ACO I/1/2, 63,23f. Θεόδωρος ἐπίσκοπος Γαδάρων ὑπέγραψα καὶ συναπεφηνάμην τῆι ἁγίαι συνόδωι. Αἰθέριος ἀρχιδιάκονος ὑπέγραψα ἐπιτραπεὶς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος.

Ephesus in 431 CE, out of the names of the 193 bishops listed, only a handful needed a proxy signature by a presbyter or counsellor yet, looking more closely at the details, we nonetheless find something remarkable. For, among the bishops unable to write is Theodorus of Gadara, a city located to the south-east of the Sea of Galilee (modern day Um Qeis, directly on the Jordanian/Israeli border). Theodorus has his archdeacon Aetherius sign for him "because he could not read nor write" (ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος). If the written records handed down to us do not deceive, he was not yet present on the day the council, which was brought forward, was opened (or at least he is not included in the list of the one-hundred and fifty-five bishops in attendance at the opening).[14] However, the synod participant in question is by no means an entirely uneducated person incapable to follow the proceedings: The Bishop of Gadara was in fact one of a series of one hundred and twenty five bishops who attested the concordance of a text by Cyril of Alexandria with the confession of the fathers from the first imperial council of Nicaea in 325 AD. According to the evidence in the records he said: "For the letter by the most holy and venerable Bishop Cyril that was read out is of sound content and pious and concords with the symbol of the faith recorded by the Holy Fathers who convened in Nicaea. I too concur with this".[15] Evidently, he could not write but nonetheless followed the proceedings ably and was theologically qualified to express himself (i. e. as a follower of Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria). At the council, he also rose to speak once again towards the end, presuming we can trust the reliability of the records—to attest that Cyril's arch enemy, Bishop Nestorius (who presided over the other subcouncil), unlike Cyril, did not obey the confession of the fathers of Nicaea.[16]

The fact that the Bishop of Gadara was not only unable to read and write but also that this fact is recorded explicitly in the synodal records is surprising in light of the level of culture in his episcopal seat south of Lake Galilee: As not only excavations and other sources have shown that Gadara was a larger city with considerable prosperity and a high level of education:[17] One inhabitant was Menippus, who invented the satire to which he gave this name and who was also a cynical philosopher,[18] as well as the author of epigrams Meleager—who penned the encomiastic lines "Island Tyre was my nurse, and Gadara, an Attic fatherland which lies in Assyria gave birth

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14 ACO I 1/2, 3–7.

15 ACO I/1/2, 20,8–11 no. 47: Θεόδωρος ἐπίσκοπος Γαδάρων εἶπεν· Ἐπειδὴ καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς καὶ ἁρμοζόντως τῆι πίστει τῆι ἐκτεθείσηι παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν συνελθόντων ἐν τῆι Νικαέων περιέχει ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ ἀναγνωσθεῖσα τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ ὁσιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Κυρίλλου, ταύτηι κἀγὼ συντίθεμαι.—On the significance of such statements at a (sub-)council cf. Graumann 2002, 372f.

16 ACO I/1/2, 34,17–19 no. 21 (after a Bishop of the same name Theodor): Θεόδωρος ἐπίσκοπος Γαδάρων εἶπεν· Ἀναθεματίζω κἀγὼ τὸν τιμιώτατον Νεστόριον μὴ φρονήσαντα τὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Νικαίαι συνελθόντων, καθὼς καὶ ἡ ἀναγνωσθεῖσα αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ ἔδειξεν.

17 Weber 2002, passim.

18 Döring 1998, 311.

to me."[19] Meleager also makes an explicit reference to the city's greatest son: "From Eucrates I sprung, Meleager, who first by the help of the Muses ran."[20] Some time later, the Roman rhetorician and historian Theodorus of Gadara, who taught the later Roman Emperor Tiberius between 33–30 BC (so well that the latter could hold a funeral oration for this biological father Tiberius Claudius Nero at the age of just nine)[21] was born to slaves in the same city (ἀπὸ δούλων, according to the Suda).[22] Finally, at the start of the second century AD, the cynic philosopher Oenomaus, the author of a book opposing the oracles said by Eusebius to have been called "The Swindlers Unmasked" (Γοήτων φώρα)[23] and who also appears several times in Midrash Bereshit Rabba and in other rabbinic texts as Abnimos ha-Gardi, was active in the city.[24] Considering this list, which is still very much incomplete, it is somewhat remarkable that the bishop of the Christian community of this city in the fifth century was apparently unable to write. This was clearly no obstacle to his being elected bishop, nor any reason for him to keep a low profile at the subcouncil of Cyril of Alexandria's followers in Ephesus in 451 CE, skulking about in the background.

One well-known example from the preceding fourth century also speaks for the interpretation that illiteracy in no way hindered a career in the Christian church. Even if we in the meantime think we know that St Anthony, the founder of anachoretic monasticism, could read and write well (letters on theological matters have been handed down that were in all likelihood written by him), he was nonetheless portrayed in late antiquity as illiterate.[25] Athanasius, a famous predecessor in Cyril of Alexandria, in

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19 Anthologia Graeca VII 417:

Νᾶσος ἐμὰ θρέπτειρα Τύρος· πάτρα δέ με τεκνοῖ
     Ἀτθὶς ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ναιομένα Γαδάροις·
Εὐκράτεω δ' ἔβλαστον ὁ σὺν Μούσαις Μελέαγρος
     πρῶτα Μενιππείοις συντροχάσας Χάρισιν.
εἰ δὲ Σύρος, τί τὸ θαῦμα; μίαν, ξένε, πατρίδα κόσμον
     ναίομεν, ἓν θνατοὺς πάντας ἔτικτε Χάος.
πουλυετὴς δ' ἐχάραξα τάδ' ἐν δέλτοισι πρὸ τύμβου·
     γήρως γὰρ γείτων ἐγγύθεν Ἀίδεω.
ἀλλά με τὸν λαλιὸν καὶ πρεσβύτην σὺ προσειπὼν
     χαίρειν εἰς γῆρας καὐτὸς ἵκοιο λάλον.

20 Anthologia Graeca VII 417.
21 Sueton, Tiberius 6. 57.
22 Suda Θ 151 Θεόδωρος, Γαδαρεύς, σοφιστής, ἀπὸ δούλων, διδάσκαλος γεγονὼς Τιβερίου Καίσαρος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεκρίθη περὶ σοφιστικῆς ἀγωνισάμενος Ποτάμωνι καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀντώνιος συγκλητικὸς ἐγένετο. Βιβλία δὲ ἔγραψε Περὶ τῶν ἐν φωναῖς ζητουμένων γ’, Περὶ ἱστορίας α’, Περὶ θέσεως ἕν, Περὶ διαλέκτων ὁμοιότητος καὶ ἀποδείξεως β’, Περὶ πολιτείας β’, Περὶ Κοίλης Συρίας α’, Περὶ ῥήτορος δυνάμεως α’, καὶ ἄλλα.—cf. Granatelli 1991; Grube 1959, 337–365.
23 Hammerstaedt 1988, 33–47.
24 Hammerstaedt 1988, 11–19.
25 Rubenson 1998, 95–99.

his Life of St Anthony, describes the ascetic as ἰδιώτης and says of him: μὴ μεμάθηκε γράμματα.[26] Like many other Christians in late antiquity, this image of St Anthony as conceived by Athanasius had a deep impression on the North-African Bishop Augustine, as his Confessiones show yet he nevertheless wrote in the prologue to his hermeneutics *De doctrina Christiana* Augustine states:

> But now as to those who talk vauntingly of Divine Grace and boast that they understand and can explain Scripture without the aid of such directions as those I now propose to lay down, and who think, therefore, that what I have undertaken to write is entirely superfluous. I wish such persons could calm themselves so far as to remember that, however justly they may rejoice in God's great gift, yet it was from human teachers they themselves learnt to read. Now, they would hardly think it right that they should for that reason be held in contempt by the Egyptian monk Anthony, a just and holy man, who, not being able to read himself, is said to have committed the Scriptures to memory through hearing them read by others, and by dint of wise meditation to have arrived at a thorough understanding of them.[27]

Augustine therefore excused quasi the inability of St Anthony to read and write, which he could not help but assume due to his reading of the Latin translation of Athanasius' Vita by the fact that the ascetic knew the scripture by heart anyway, even without any knowledge of such cultural techniques. The truth about the reading and writing skills of St Anthony however and whether—like Bishop Theodorus of Gadara—though he was theologically skilled had to dictate the letters that have been handed down to us because he could not write them himself, is wholly irrelevant for our purposes.

Of course, one cannot—especially with respect to the self-stylization of monks as being simple, illiterate people—take this simply at face value. For us it is sufficient to note however that his illiteracy in no way stood in the way of a career in the Christian church community though of course a former teacher of rhetoric like Augustine could not accept it when people paid heed to such role models while still claiming to understand the scripture.

Until now we have admittedly only looked at ancient Christian manuscripts, as the title of this contribution suggests we will be dealing with, to a very limited degree. Of course information about the ability of bishops and ascetics to write has been recorded in ancient Christian manuscripts but our task here (in accordance with the

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26 Garitte 1939, 11–31; Rubenson 1998, 126–132

27 Augustinus, *De doctrina Christiana* prol. 4 (CChr. SL 32, 2,44–3,53 Martin): *Iam vero eorum qui divino munere exsultant et sine talibus praeceptis qualia nunc tradere institui, se sanctos Libros intellegere atque tractare gloriantur, et propterea me superflua voluisse scribere existimant, sic est lenienda commotio ut, quamvis magno Dei dono iure laetentur, recordentur se tamen per homines didicisse vel litteras nec propterea sibi ab Antonio sancto et perfecto Aegyptio monacho insultari debere, qui sine ulla scientia litterarum Scripturas divinas et memoriter audiendo tenuisse et prudenter cogitando intellexisse praedicatur.*

objectives of the special "Material-based text cultures" research field)[28] is to provide access to the phenomenon of reading and non-reading based on the *materiality* of the text handed down to us and, to this end, in a second part of my paper, I shall look at the materiality of manuscripts. Having argued that, based on the lists of bishops at the (sub-)council of Cyril of Alexandria's party in Ephesus, the behavior of many ancient people might be described as the apostle Paul describes Christian life in general,[29] i. e. having books as if one did not have them; reading as if one were not reading, it remains for us to strengthen this impression using certain texts (of which many more examples exist) based on the materiality of manuscripts. At a joint conference between the Heidelberg Special Research Centre and our Berlin Special Research Centre "Episteme in Motion" at "Landgut Stober" in Groß Behnitz at the end of June 2017, I expressed the view that, using the example of a biblical text written on a cave chapel of the desert-monastery of St. Theoctistus in South Judea (todays Deir el-Mukalik; fragments now in the Israel Museum Jerusalem) during late antiquity, not everything that looked like a text in Christian antiquity was in fact perceived by all as such.[30] In order to back up the viewpoint I expressed at the time with additional arguments, I now like to draw on another group of sources (though of course again using just one typical example here). I will supplement such observations with a famous but valuable pamphlet by Adolf von Harnack entitled "Über den privaten Gebrauch der Heiligen Schriften in der Alten Kirche" (On the personal use of the holy scriptures in the Old Church),[31] which itself builds upon a Göttingen and Berlin work from the late eighteenth and nineteenth century.[32]

To this end, for purely pragmatic reasons, I shall refer to the Berlin Septuagint manuscripts, the majority of which are known to have been collated in 1939 by Otto Stegmüller, later Catholic scholar of religion in Freiburg, and by the Berlin papyrologist Kurt Treu in 1970.[33] In particular, I would like to look at two special *types* of manuscripts namely amulets and antiphonal hymns. To this end I shall draw from examples from Berlin but also from Heidelberg too. Incidentally, Adolf Deissmann, later a New Testament scholar in Berlin, was also involved in the first edition of the Septuagint papyri at the university in Badenia.[34]

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28 Hilgert/Lieb 2015, 7–16.

29 In 1 Cor. 7:29.

30 Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae IV/1, no. 3166 (p. 554–556, ed. Walter Ameling): lines with quotations of John 3, 5 and 8 together with Matthew 11:28.—My paper on these little fragments will be published soon with some new images.

31 Harnack 1912, cf. now. Gamble 1995, 203–242.

32 Walch 1779.—Cf. also Markschies 2013, 138–145.

33 Stegmüller (ed.) 1939; Treu 1970, 43–65 with images 1–7.

34 Deissmann (ed.) 1905, cf. also Horsley 1993, 35–38.—On Deissmann as papyrologist cf. now Horsley 2019, 66–129, esp. 77–81.
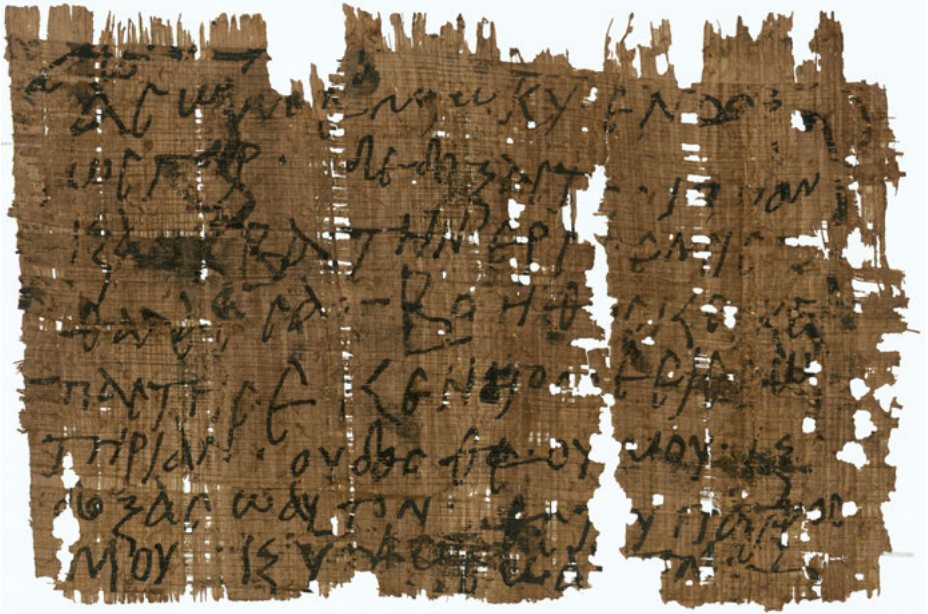
Fig. 1: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Inventar-Nr. P. 16158 R.

To begin with I would like to take a closer look at *amulets* in this context; thereafter I shall first discuss two Berlin examples, as mentioned. *Firstly* papyrus 16158 from the sixth century, a single piece measuring 9 × 13.3 cm made from "fairly light papyrus". This Berlin sheet contains, in eight short lines, the first two sentences from Exodus 15, the Song of Moses—at the same time the first two lines of the first odes, which have been appended to the psalms since the 5th century: Ἄισωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται· ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν ("I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea").[35] The sheet demonstrates distinct signs of folding, meaning it was carried folded together as an amulet rather than being part of a miniature codex.[36] Understandably wearers were not capable of reading what they were wearing—nor, if they knew it by heart from the liturgy, was there any need for them to.[37] It is not hard to understand why precisely this Biblical text ended up being used in such a magical context: Wearers, male or female, presuming they knew what it was they were wearing of course, hoped to partake of the δύναμις, the divine strength that cast horse and rider into the sea. With these two lines, they were documenting that they had identified the core

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35 Treu 1970, 50: P. 16158, van Haelst 242, Rahlfs 2132; on the text Vattioni 1978, 35–47.

36 Kraus 2004, 485–497.

37 On the "magical use" of such amulets in ancient times and today cf. Versnel 2009, 1–4.
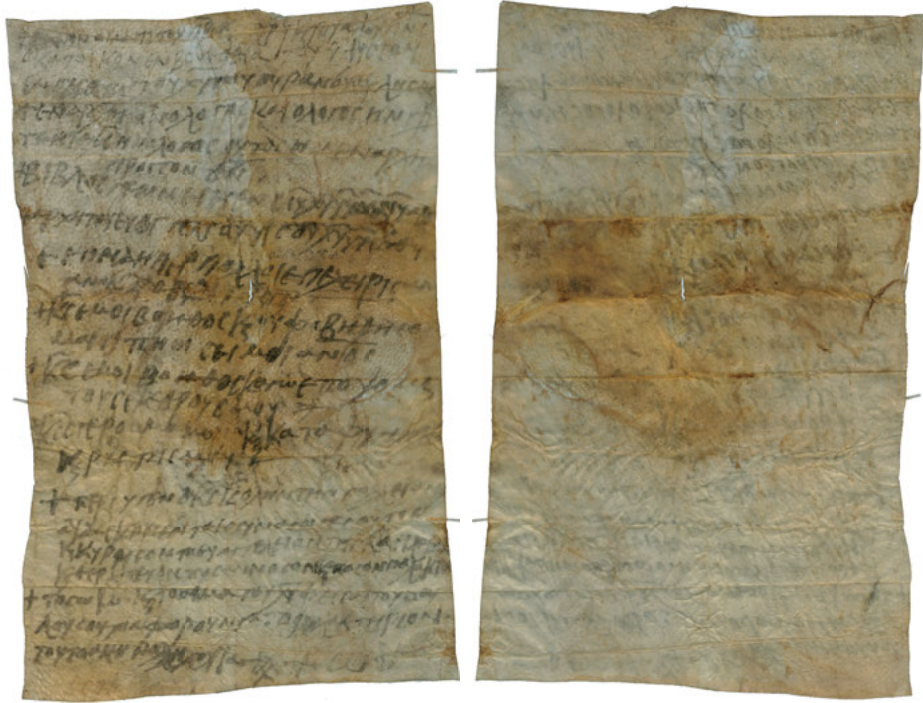
Fig. 2a–b: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Inventar-Nr. P. 6096.

power in the cosmos and were now wearing this "in black and white" about their person in order to overcome, to paraphrase the title of a splendid book about ancient magic, "harmful magic"[38] and other such monstrosities from day-to-day life through "closeness to God". Whereas papyrus 16158 cites the biblical text more or less in its canonical form, in other Berlin sections, the biblical manuscripts are far less faithful and have been amended.

Secondly, as an example of biblical texts being treated in this manner, thereby giving rise to a *new* pseudo-biblical and pseudo-canonical text, I would like to refer to another Berlin amulet from the 6th or 7th century, papyrus 6096.[39] This similarly sized piece (14 × 8 cm) is a mixed text of 23 lines. It is framed with phrases from the liturgy (ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς κτλ. Line 1; ἀμὴν ἀλληλούϊα line 23), followed by the first verse of Psalm 90 (Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ ὑψίστου, ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὐλήσθαι), the first line of each of the four gospels, starting with John, further lines from two various psalms (117,6f.; 17,3) and finally the conclusion: "Body

38 Graf 1996; Wischmeyer 1998, 88–122.

39 Wessely (ed.) 1924, 412 = 188 (Haelst 731 = Rahlfs 2131), cf. also Schmidt/Schubart (eds.) 1910, 129f. and Meyer/Smith 1999, 34f. (no. 9; English translation).

and blood of Jesus Christ, have mercy on your servant who wears this amulet (τὸ φυλακτήριον)".[40] Any persons protected by these awe-inspiring—as John Chrysostom calls them[41]—Eucharistic elements, which they partake of during the mass, the powerful effect of which is enhanced by the glorious phrases on the amulet, resides as the psalmist in the line cited says, ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ ὑψίστου. He has no reason to fear because: What harm can human beings do to him?

Ancient, by their origin sanctified and powerful texts of the Septuagint become a sort of pass of safe conduct and gain an air of concreteness for the individual. They are, as in the liturgical readings, "cut out", a pericope, decontextualised. For the vast majority of users of such compilations, there is no hypertext in which a verse makes reference to its entire former context—in order to establish such links intellectually, one would have had to have been a scholar on the order of an Origen or one of the Cappadocians. It remains decidedly questionable, moreover, whether these amulets were even meant to be read. All considerations that we had reconstructed for the selection of particular Bible verses could just as well have been merely the guiding idea of the writer of the lines; for the reader, the general notion of holding, in the form of the artefact, a certain might and power in one's hands that enabled a proximity to God and power of sorcery, was eminently sufficient.[42]

But this type of re-construction of pseudo-Biblical and pseudo-canonical texts can be found not only in amulets and other transmission contexts devised primarily for private use, but also in *liturgical material*.[43] Here one can naturally pose the question as to whether everyone who sang from such manuscripts could in fact read—and if, as Georg Schmelz demonstrated in his work some years ago on church officials in late-antiquity Egypt, even the bishop (in this example: Apa Abraham of Hermonthis in the late sixth century) could not read and write, this is all the more to be assumed of his cantors and singers: "I, Joseph, son of John, humble priest of the holy church of Hermonthis, have written upon instruction, as he cannot write."[44] I shall first address the Berlin single leaf papyrus 11763, a text from the seventh or eighth

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40 L. 11–16 and 21–23: + Κ(ύριο)ς ἐμοὶ βοηθός κ(αὶ) οὐ φοβηθήσο-|μαι τί ποιήσει μοι ἄν(θρωπ)ος. | + κύριος ἐμοὶ βοηθὸς κἀγὼ ἐπόψομαι | τοὺς ἐχθρούς μου. | + κ(ύριο)ς στερέωμά μου κ(αὶ) καταφυγή μ(ου) | καὶ ῥύστης μου. [...] + Τὸ σῶμα κ(αὶ) τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ φεῖσαι τοῦ δού-|λου σου τὸν φοροῦντα τὸ φυλακτήριον | τοῦτο. ἀμὴν ἀλληλούια.

41 Markschies 2016, 420–422.

42 Cf. also Markschies 2017b, 11–35.

43 Markschies 2004, 77–88. Deissmann 1905 has published 27 leafs of what he called "a countryside bible" (P. Heid. Inv. G. 600 resp. VHP I 1 = Rahlfs 919 = Haelst 290 = Aland AT 124 [9]): "Die Derbheit des Papyrus, die mannigfaltigen Versehen des Schreibers und besonders die Nachlässigkeit des Korrektors weisen darauf hin, daß das Buch wohl für eine kleinere und ärmere Kirche geschrieben ist, eine Kirche, deren Theologen von dem Geiste Origineischer Textkritik nicht allzu stark angekränkelt waren. Vielleicht dürfen wir unsere Blätter als die Reste einer ägyptischen Dorfbibel bezeichnen".

44 P. Lond. I 77 (p. 235) line 80ff. † Ἰωσὴφ Ἰωάννου ἐλάχ(ιστος) πρεσβύτερ(ος) ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας Ἑρμωνθ(έως) κελευσθείσης μοι ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ ἐπισταμένου.—See also Schmelz 2002, 70–75; Krause, 1969, 57–67.

Fig. 3a–b: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Inventar-Nr. P. 11763.

century, excavated in Hermopolis magna/el-Eschmunen. It is a template for the liturgical antiphonal singing of the Psalms in the (modest) dimensions of 17 × 8.5 cm; this was noted as early as Stegmüller. At the end of each of the thirty two stanzas of the fragmentary leaf, there is an abbreviated ἀλλ', signifying ἀλληλούια. Excerpts from Psalms 50–150 were evidently originally included; now the transmission begins with Psalm 61:8 and 10:[45] ὁ θ(εὸ)ς τῆς βοηθείας μ(ου) κ(αὶ) ἡ ἐλπίς μου ἐπὶ τῷ θ(ε)ῷ. | ὁ θεὸς βοηθὸς ἡμῶν. ἀλληλύια. Abridging nineteen Psalms down to one, two or three verses in each case, which, moreover, had been taken from completely different places in the Old Testament original (and by no means just from the beginning),[46]

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45 Rahlfs 2063 = Haelst 159 = Aland AT 70. The text is edited by Stegmüller 1939, 41–50 (n. 16).

46 Psalm 61:8–10. 13; 62:2. 4; 67:36; 72:1; 73:13. 15–18; 75:8–10; 76:15; 80:3; 109:4; 111:2–3; 112:4; 117:28; 120:4; 121:7; 122:2; 127:4; 129:5–6; 131:11 and 138:5. 14.

presents a by no means insignificant challenge for a clever epitomator. In view of the linguistic uniformity of some Psalm verses, the following applies here as well: one had—as the monks did, for example—to know the text of the Psalter very well in order to apprehend the constructive character of this antiphonal singing. Conversely, the following also applies, of course: one who could not read, but who had learned such liturgical texts by heart through repeated singing, would not have detected the differences to the authentic Biblical text.

Another means of making texts from the Septuagint "singable" for the antiphonal psalmody of the liturgy through reconstruction is demonstrated by a 12 × 28.5 cm leaf from Heidelberg, Papyrus G. 558, from the ninth or tenth century CE. Here we see in Psalm 98 that, after the verses 2b, 5c and 7a (taken as three stanzas), the final verse of the entire Psalm is added as a sort of refrain ("hypopsalma"), ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν: + [...] ὁ θ(εὸ)ς ἡμῶν· Ὁ [κ(ύριο)ς ἐβ]α-| σίλευσεν, ὀργιζέσθω[σαν] λ[αοί·] | ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερου-|βιν, σαλευθήτω ἡ γῆ. Κ(ύριο)ς | ἐν Σιων μέγας· καὶ [ὑψ]ηλός | ἐστιν· ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς λα[ούς·] | ὁ θ(εὸ)ς ἡμῶν· (Stanza 1, l. 5–11). Through this reconfiguration, the Psalm is reworked according to the stylistic sensibility of a late-antiquity contemporary and arranged into two shorter and two longer stanzas[47]—a procedure as simple as it is effective, and which has already been applied in the Biblical account itself, as can be seen, for example, at the end of the Lord's Prayer. Here again, one has to be liturgically highly experienced or very well-versed in one's regard of the Psalter to even identify the contamination at all, but at the very least able to read.[48]

As my penultimate example, I would like to talk about a Berlin rolled sheet of lead originally from Rhodes (12 × 16 cm) and written in the third or fourth century that contains the seventy-ninth Psalm, which was published by Friedrich Hiller von Gaertringen in 1898 and unfortunately is among the unrecovered war losses of the Antiquarium, the current collection of antiquities.[49] This text (from the hand of a very spare writer), too, must presumably be considered one of the magical texts on account of its material, which was lead. The Psalm was undoubtedly selected for this lead scroll in part because it deals with the special power of the Biblical God, or more precisely Κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων, (5f.) and thus simultaneously awakens, and to some extent fulfils, the expectation familiar to us from the amulets of a powerful God. In his first edition, Hiller von Gaertringen added the now rather amusing suggestion that the user or person who commissioned it could have been a Rhodian winemaker

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47 Kramer/Hagedorn (eds.) 1986, 16–20 = no. 291.

48 Also interesting from the collection in Heidelberg would be P. Heid. Inv. G. 608 a-e (608 e = 1020 a) = VBP IV 56 Rahlfs 970 = Haelst 33 = Aland AT 15 [03], cf. Dorn/Rosenberger/Trobisch 1985, 115–121 and ibid. 1986, 106.

49 Miscellanea 8630 (missing): Haelst 177 = Rahlfs 2004; cf. Hiller von Gaertringen 1898, 582–588; Feissel 1984, 230 and Guarducci 1995, 365–368. Cf. also the related digital catalogue of the State Museums of Berlin (last accessed 17.03.2019): http://www.smb.museum/antikebronzenberlin/index.htm s. v. "Misc. 8630".
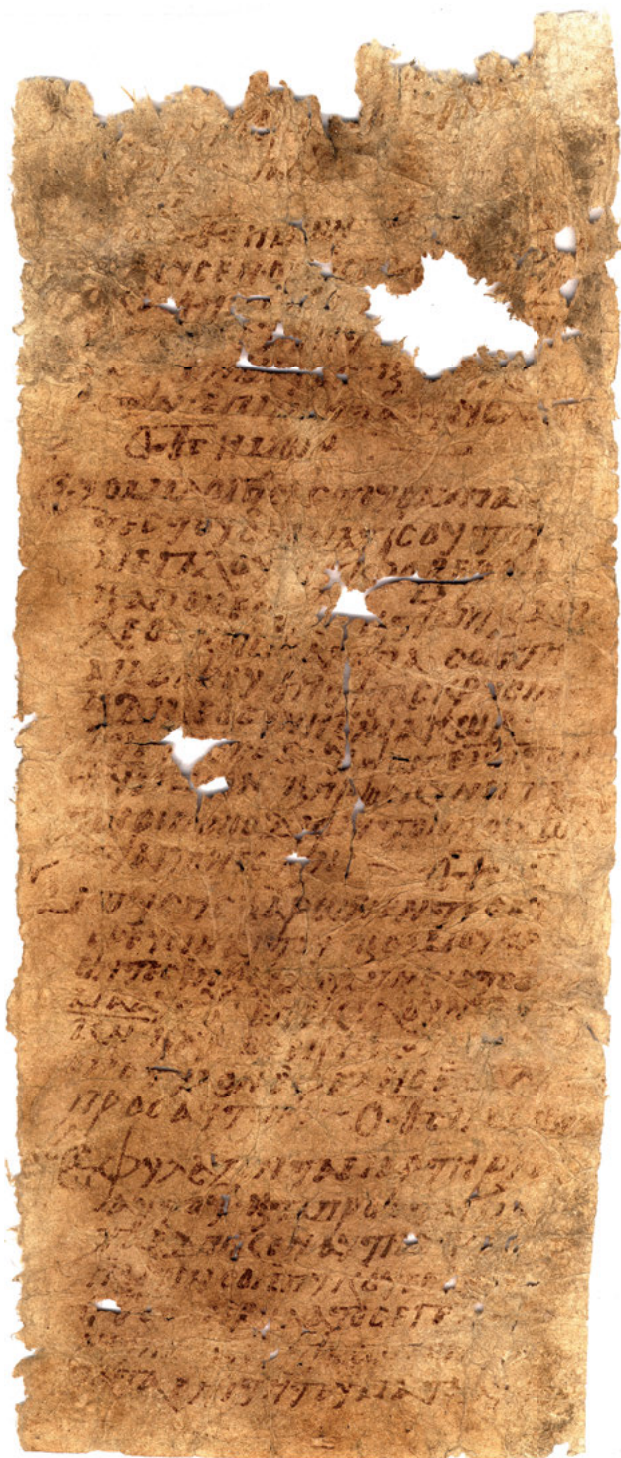
Fig. 4: Universität Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie, Inventar-Nr. G. 0558.
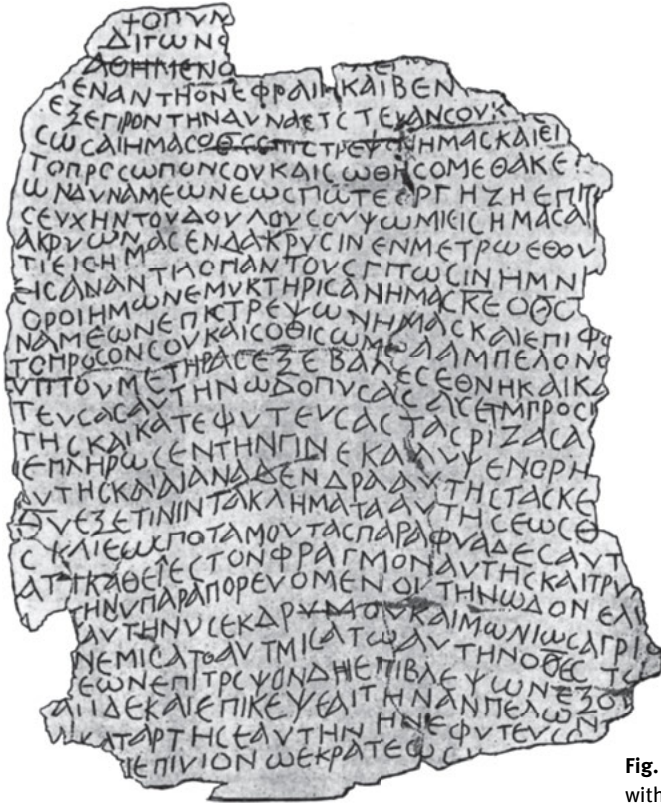
Fig. 5: Rolled sheet from Rhodes with Psalm 79.

because in the Psalm in question the planting of a vine represents a renewed return of God's favour to his people[50] and the verse is cited on the lead scroll with this metaphorical formulation. Perhaps. Of course, we don't know that for certain. Yet the idea that such texts comprised of a free arrangement of pseudo-Biblical passages were not compiled entirely on the basis of very general construction principles—as in the orientation based on the concept of a special power (δύναμις) of God[51]—but were devised based on the individual profiles of the people who commissioned them, buyers and potential customers of the writer, has a certain plausibility to it. Here again, such observations do not, of course, suggest that the people could, or wanted to, read such texts independently. It seems to me, in this case as well, the rather less probable interpretation of the finding. I would like to note, however, that as long as we do not have a generally accepted typology of the use of such manuscripts in antiquity, any such suggestions must be considered hypothetical.

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50 Von Gaertringen 1898, 588. The text is addressed two times in DACL: Jalabert, s. v. "Citations Bibliques dans l'épigraphie grecque," *DACL* III/2, p. 1746 with fig. 2990 and Leclercq, s. v. "Plomb," *DACL* XIV/1, 1195f.

51 Cf. Markschies 2012, 226–231.

Fig. 6a–b: P. Yale I 1.

Now I come to the conclusion of this second part of my remarks and briefly address a well-known Genesis papyrus from Yale[52] in which the verse Genesis 14:14 (ἠρίθμησεν τοὺς ἰδίους οἰκογενεῖς αὐτοῦ, τριακοσίους δέκα καὶ ὀκτώ / he [sc. Abraham] counted his own [slaves] born in his house, three-hundred-eighteen) is cited and the number 318 is written as τιη (verso, line 9)—so probably as first recounted in the Epistle of Barnabas, interpreted as a prefiguration of the cross of Christ.[53] Now that I have spoken so extensively about the non-reading of texts, I would like to present this writing as an indication of the fact that we have material evidence that people could not only not read texts, but in fact were capable of identifying multiple interpretations or layers of meaning. The elaborately developed hermeneutic process of surveying multiple text interpretations, as we can see for example in Origen, relies on the materiality of the written text as its prerequisite.

We wanted to examine for the Christendom of antiquity to what extent the now widespread concept of "textual communities" is applicable, i. e. "religious communities" which, according to the definition from Brian Stock, "came to understand their identities through the mediation of written texts, which often were interpreted for them by key individuals".[54] We asked whether the idea that such "textual communities" were constituted as "reading communities" was indeed accurate, or at least approximately so. The observations from the two sections of this presentation do not exactly speak in favour of the model, notwithstanding its wide dissemination. Of course the Christendom of antiquity was also a "religion of the book", but many believers possessed the book as if they did not really have it. They frequently handled the books in liturgy and everyday piety as magical objects or objects of liturgical veneration, but not primarily as texts intended for careful reading. One could be ordained as a priest, as the ordination certificates published by Geog Schmelz demonstrate,[55] even if one could not read and write—the main thing was that one knew the gospel by heart. Christian communities of antiquity are "textual communities" in the simple sense that they have text, but often have it in a way as if they didn't: "communities of the holy book", but not "reading communities". As usual, the number of those who could not read the holy book and yet prized it above all else cannot be specified with any precision; numbers in antiquity are often more heat than light. But the provocative example of clever bishops who could not read and write and yet were engaged as theological teachers on councils and in congregations should provide ample warning

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52 P. Yale I 1 (= Rahlfs 814).—See also Dinkler 1982=1992; Cole 2017, 163f.; Katz 1953.

53 Barnabae epistula 9,8: Λέγει γάρ· ʽΚαὶ περιέτεμεν Ἀβραὰμ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ἄνδρας δεκαοκτὼ καὶ τριακοσίους᾽. Τίς οὖν ἡ δοθεῖσα αὐτῷ γνῶσις; μάθετε· ὅτι τοὺς ʽδεκαοκτὼ᾽ πρώτους, καὶ διάστημα ποιήσας λέγει ʽτριακοσίους᾽. Τὸ ʽδεκαοκτὼ᾽, Ι (δέκα) Η (ὀκτώ) ἔχεις ΙΗ(σοῦν). Ὅτι δὲ ὁ σταυρὸς ἐν τῷ Τ ἤμελλεν ἔχειν τὴν χάριν, λέγει καὶ τοὺς ʽτριακοσίους᾽. Δηλοῖ οὖν τὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τοῖς δυσὶν γράμμασιν, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑνὶ τὸν σταυρόν.

54 Stock 1983.

55 Schmelz 2002, 70–75.

to us against applying our standards to antiquity. The examination of the material dimension of Christian textual accounts from antiquity with regard to reading and non-reading is—to my mind at least—still in very early days. So it will not come as too much of a surprise if I conclude my preliminary explorations at this point, thank you for your attention and proffer the possibility of a continuation of this fascinating topic as and when the opportunity presents itself.

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Fig. 1, 2a–b, 3a–b: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Scan: Berliner Papyrusdatenbank.

Fig. 4: Universität Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie.

Fig. 5: Louis Jalabert, s. v. "Citations Bibliques dans l'épigraphie grecque," DACL III/2, p. 1746, fig. 2990.

Fig. 6a–b: Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, General Collection, P.CtYBR inv. 419.

Daniel Picus

Reading Regularly

The Liturgical Reading of Torah in its Late Antique Material World

The Bible was read in antiquity: we can say this much, at least, without inviting much controversy. It is in the details of this statement that the devil lies: what that Bible looked like—or whether, indeed, we should even call it the Bible—where it might have been read, and how it was accessed, understood, and used by ancient readers, hearers, and listeners are all matters of great, and worthwhile, debate.[1] In this paper, I will examine one small aspect of how the text that the rabbis of late antiquity called the Torah was read. Specifically, I am interested in the formation of the *parashah*, or the liturgical unit of text that was, for the rabbis, the base unit of the ritual reading of the Torah.[2] I argue that the formation of the *parashah* was bounded by material concerns, such as the length of a column of text, and the placement of spaces and gaps in the written scroll. These concerns find their expression in another aspect of the *parashah*: the content of *parshiyyot*—where they start, where they end, and how they contain or expand a narrative—was informed by similar sets of concerns to those by which the Homeric epics were divided into twenty-four books, and it is instructive to regard the two together.

This paper identifies three sets of criteria that the rabbis of late antiquity took into consideration when they excerpted portions of the Torah into *parshiyyot* for reading. These are performative or liturgical criteria, content-based or thematic criteria, and physical criteria. Performative or liturgical criteria are perhaps the most obvious. These are the criteria by which a reading can be deemed too long or too short, or whether it should be read continuously, or broken up. Content-based divisions are based on natural gaps in the narrative: where should they fall, and how should they be interpreted? Finally, physical criteria come from the actual shape of the text: these include paragraph endings, column and scroll length, and other similar factors.

Most of the rabbinic evidence in this paper comes from one tractate in the Mishnah, Tosefta, Palestinian Talmud, and Babylonian Talmud, tractate Megillah. The vast majority of rabbinic discussion regarding Torah reading, synagogue readings, and general public liturgical reading comes in this tractate, which treats the laws and regulations of the holiday of Purim before discussing the liturgical reading of other

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1 Cf. Mroczek 2015, 3–18; Stern 2017, passim.

2 The word פרשה, used to indicate a unit of text, is present in the earliest layers of rabbinic literature, including the Mishnah, Tosefta, Sifra, and both Sifres. I am less interested, in this paper, in the historical development of the Hebrew word, than I am in the process by which the rabbis selected units of text for liturgical reading.

texts—particularly the "special portions" of the Torah. For this reason, I have chosen to focus specifically on these practices in relation to the wider context of material reading in late antiquity, and the way the rhetoric surrounding them is changed and deployed. This allows us to conceive of rabbinic liturgical reading practices, and the divisions of texts from which they are constituted, in greater historical detail, and to place them into the material worlds of late ancient education and literary scholarship. As I move through the evidence from the Mishnah to the Bavli, I will indicate which set of criteria is being highlighted.

The majority of performative evidence, we will see, is drawn from the earlier texts of rabbinic literature, indicating *either* that such concerns were present early in the development of the liturgy, or that the presence of thematic criteria in later texts was the result of attempts to justify earlier received traditions. The Mishnah and Tosefta use the word *parashah*/פרשה to refer to a specific reading from a book of the Bible that extends beyond a single verse or chapter. The root of the word *parashah*, פ-ר-ש, is present in Biblical Hebrew and means "to divide," or "to separate."[3] Both of these early rabbinic texts provide information about the contents of *parshiyyot*, as well as the acceptable length of a liturgical reading and the rituals to be performed before and after. Mishnah Megillah 4:4, for example, gives explicit instructions regarding the reading of the Torah: how much is read, and in what manner it is done.

> הקורא בתורה לא יפחות משלשה פסוקין לא יקרא לתורגמן יתר מפסוק אחד ובנביא שלשה אם היו
> שלשתם שלוש פרשיות קורים אחד אחד מדלגים בנביא ואין מדלגים בתורה עד כמה הוא מדלג עד
> כדי שלא יפסיק התורגמן:

> The one reading the Torah shall not do less than three verses. And he will not read more than one verse to the translator. And in the Prophets, (he can read) three. And if the three are three separate *parshiyyot*, they read them one at a time. They may skip in the Prophets but may not skip in the Torah. And how much time may he skip? Until the translator does not interrupt.[4]

We learn a significant amount from this short mishnah. Proper liturgical reading of the Torah is performed in the presence of a translator, and an appropriately sized *parashah* for a ritual lectionary is composed of three verses, each of which is read one at a time, so that the translator can successfully relay his or her meaning to the congregation in time with the reading—at least as far as reading from the Torah goes. The rules of the ritual relax a bit for *haftarot*, or readings from the Prophets that are appended to the weekly Torah cycle: the reader can read three verses at once, and the *turgeman* (*meturgeman* in other manuscripts) can translate them all at once.[5] The only

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3 See Baumgartner/Koehler (eds.) 1998, s. v.

4 The Mishnah text is this chapter is from Ms. Kaufmann A 50, the Kaufmann Mishnah manuscript. Megillah 4:4 (in this manuscript, 4:5) falls on 81v. As a general rule, I will refer to *mishnayot* by their numbering in Albeck for ease of reference, but I will also give the manuscript's numbering as well.

5 It seems likely to me that this "grouped" translation was more similar to paraphrasing.

time this does not hold explicitly true is when three verses are seen as three separate divisions, necessitating three separate translations.

This is a performative set of criteria, although it seems to shade into one of the other two categories as well. Does the Mishnah mean three separate divisions in the text itself, therefore making this a practical matter, relating to how the text is written? Or is this an interpretive, contextual issue, in which three separate verses are understood as having three different intents and referents? Put differently: in this instance, is the performance of the text constrained by the manner in which the physical document is written, or by the narrative content of the text?

The implications of these two different outcomes are important. In the former, the format of the reading itself is dictated by the physical form of the text, by decisions made by scribes and earlier rabbis, and not by the liturgical participants themselves. In the latter situation, a reader and translator could decide between them what counted as "three individual *parshiyyot*," three verses that are differentiated enough to constitute three separate readings. While it is possible that both explanations hold true in different cases—sometimes, the text clearly provides three clear divisions, while at other times, the reader and *meturgeman* must use their own judgment—it seems most likely that there is an eventual fusing of the two: physical breaks in the written text are ultimately taken as shifts in meaning, and constitute an important consideration in the creation of a liturgical reading. We see this in rabbinic texts that treat breaks in the text as an opportunity to impute shifts in meaning—a strategy that we will see later, as well.[6]

A passage from the Tosefta (tMegillah 2:5) shows us that, even outside the reading of the weekly Torah portion, there are different opinions on how much of any given text should be read. The Tosefta claims that the entirety of the scroll of the Megillah need not even be read, according to some rabbis: there are three different starting points, according to Rabbis Yehuda, Shim'on, and Liezer, but the important thing, they are all sure to say, is that the scroll is read from that point until its end.

מצות מגלה מתחלתה ועד סופה דברי ר׳ מאיר או׳ מאיש יהודי ר׳ יוסה או׳ מאחר הדברים האלה ר׳
שמעון בן לעזר או׳ מבלילה ההוא אבל הכל מודים שמצותה לגמור עד סוף[7]

The commandment for the Megillah is from its beginning to its end—the words of Rabbi Meir. [Rabbi Yehudah][8] says, from "There was a certain Jew" (Esther 2:5). Rabbi Yose says, from "One of these things" (Esther 2:3). Rabbi Shim'on ben Liezer says, from "On that night" (Esther 6:1). But all agree that the commandment is to finish it until the end.

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6 See, for example, Mekhilta d'Rabbi Yishmael, Beshallach 7. This midrash posits a link between the last verse of Exodus 14 and the first verse of Exodus 15. These two verses are separated in the Masoretic text by an "open" paragraph—a material reality that does not figure into the Mekhilta's exegesis of why the verses are sequential.

7 All Tosefta texts are from the Vienna Manuscript, Codex Hebr. 20.

8 Rabbi Yehuda's name is cited in mss. Erfurt and London.

This tosefta suggests that it is not simply the completeness of the text that is at stake, but its order and internal logic. Starting later, but still reading through to the finish, preserves this integrity.[9] Also at stake here is a concern about the length of the reading: by shortening the lectionary from the entire scroll to a portion of the scroll, the length of the reading may be more in line with other readings.[10] This is both a performative criterion, as well as a physical one, if we are to assume that the book of Esther comprised an entire scroll.

The absence of certain formal strictures for the liturgical reading of Esther in Mishnah Megillah yield to the much more rigid regulations of reading the Torah, and in some cases, the *haftarah*, or selection from the Prophets that is typically added to the end of a Torah reading on the Sabbath and holidays. The latter half of mMegillah 4:1 presents a series of rules that delineate and specify the regular, cyclical reading of the Torah: how often it happens, and the manner in which it should be done, a classic performative criterion.

בשני ובחמישי ובשבת במנחה קורין שלשה אין פוחתין מהן ואין מוסיפין עליהן ואין מפטירין בנביא הפותח והחותם בתורה מברך לפניה ולאחריה:

> On Monday and Thursday and Shabbat in the afternoon, they read three—they do not reduce the number, and do not add to them, and they do not conclude with a prophet. The one initiating and closing the Torah blesses before it and after it.

Already, this is a significant shift from the first portion of mMegillah 4:1, which describes the reading of the Megillah as a relatively casual (or at least, less formalized) affair.[11] The reading that takes place on Mondays, Thursdays, and Shabbat afternoons—the Torah reading—must be done in a certain way. There are three *parshiyyot*, or individual lectionaries, and no selection from the Prophets. The blessings that begin and end the reading are performed, it seems, only once: once before the reading begins, and once after it ends. This is in sharp contrast to the way they are performed today, with each reading receiving a blessing prior and a blessing after.

The proper order of reading, as well as the amount of reading that is to be done on a specific day, also has a bearing on the formation of *parshiyyot*, and constitutes a set of performative criteria. Mishnah Megillah 4:2 continues in a similar vein, relaying instructions on how many *parshiyyot* are to be read on certain holidays. The New Moon (Rosh Chodesh) and the intermediate days of long festivals are each given four, without an addition from the Prophets; the first and last days of longer festivals have five

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9 MMegillah 3:6, for example, dictates that the curses of Leviticus 26 or Deuteronomy 28 must be read in their entirety, and not interrupted.

10 Although the length of readings, as we will see, is highly variable.

11 "The one who reads the Megillah either stands or sits. One person reads it, two people reads it—it is fulfilled. In a place where they are accustomed to blessing, they bless, and where they do not bless, they do not bless."

readings, Yom Kippur has six, and the Sabbath seven. These latter three all conclude with *haftarot*, or readings from the Prophets, and in addition, it is entirely acceptable to have additional readings as well.

בראשי החדשים ובחולו של מועד קורים ארבעה אין פוחתים מהן ואין מוסיפין עליהם ואין מפטירים בנביא הפותח והחותם בתורה מברך לפניה ולאחריה זה הכלל כל שיש בו מוסף והוא אינו יום טוב קורין ארבעה ביום טוב חמשה ביום הכפורים ששה בשבת שבעה אין פוחתים מהן אבל מוסיפים עליהם ומפטירים בנביא הפותח והחותם בתורה מברך לפניה ולאחריה:¹²

On the first day of the month, and the middle days of holidays, we read four. We do not decrease from them, nor add to them, and we do not conclude with a section from the prophets. The one who initiates and concludes the Torah blesses before it and after it. This is the general rule: every day on which there is an additional service/sacrifice and it is not a festal day, we read four. On a festal day, five. On Yom Kippur, six. On Shabbat, seven. We do not decrease from them, but we may add to them and conclude with the Prophets. The one who initiates and concludes the Torah blesses before it and after it.

In providing a general rule, the Mishnah suggests that there was something *resembling* an attempt at formalization on the part of the tannaitic rabbis. The liturgical reading cycle for the Torah was different between Palestine and Babylonia, and likely even between communities within those two centers, but the "*kelal*," or general rule which we are given here, represents a slightly different reading cycle overlaid on top of the more regular, cyclical, *continuous* one.¹³ The degrees to which these two influenced each other are likely deep, and in all probability, mutually entailing. For our purposes, though, it is important to note that the rabbis stipulate both the length and the number of readings, and both of these things, as we will see, are important factors in the formation of individual *parshiyyot*.

The Yerushalmi continues to interpret the Mishnah, with some help from the Tosefta, as regards the appropriate divisions of Torah readings for specific events. Mishnah Megillah 3:6, which states that the "curses" (Deut. 28 or Lev. 26), to be read on fast days, cannot be interrupted, is expanded and elucidated in the following passage, from yMegillah 3:8 74b.¹⁴ This segment also includes a relatively explicit theorization of how a *parashah*, or reading, is constructed—the former of these is a performative criterion, the latter, a content-based criterion.

אין מפסיקין בקללות אמר רבי חייה בר גמדא אל תקוץ בתוכחתו אל תעשה קוצים קוצים אמר רבי לוי אמר הקב"ה אינו בדין שיהו בני מתקללים ואני מתברך אמר רבי יוסי בי רבי בון לא מטעם הזה אלא זה שהוא עומד לקרות בתורה צריך שיהא פותח בדבר טוב וחותם בדבר טוב

> One does not interrupt in the curses. Rabbi Hiyya bar Gamda said, "Do not be repelled by his reproach" (Proverbs 3:11). Do not make many thorns. Rabbi Levi said that the Holy One, Blessed Be He, said, "It is not in justice that my children are cursed and I am praised." Rabbi Yose be Rabbi Bun said, "It is not for this reason, but because the one who stands up to read in the Torah needs to begin with a good word and conclude with a good word."[15]

The Mishnah states that the *parashah* to be read on fast days—the curses from Leviticus 26 or Deuteronomy 28—cannot be interrupted. Several reasons are given for this in the Yerushalmi, all of them revolving around stated and unstated rules regarding the importance of crafting a biblical pericope correctly. The first of these, the statement of Rabbi Hiyya, revolves around the interchangeability of two words: curse and reproach. The section of "curses" is often also called the "reproaches": the *tokhechot*. The verse "do not be repelled by his reproach," from Proverbs 3:11,[16] presents something of an oddity, however: its relevance to the matter at hand is difficult to discern, but is based on a pun established between the word for "repel," and the word for "thorn" used in the next line.

The gemara continues, "Do not make thorns upon thorns." The implication is that a singular curse stings like a thorn, and that by dividing the text into multiple readings, or *parshiyyot*, the reader is multiplying the effects of that sting. This stands in contrast to the sense of the biblical verse, however: if one should not be repelled by divine reproach, it should stand to reason that breaking up the text makes very little difference one way or another.

The verse and its explanation make a little more sense, however, if we consider another layer to the word *qotz*. Shlomo Naeh has suggested that this word should actually be read as "pericope," as a shortened form of the rare Hebrew noun *qutzah*.[17] When this meaning is read into the passage, it becomes significantly subtler. Instead of "do not be repelled," the pun suggests that Proverbs 3:11 means something like, "do not make pericopes (or, with a very minor leap, *parshiyyot*) from his rebuke." The gemara's explanation, read this way, similarly instructs the reader to not make too many pericopes.

This meaning brings out a tension in the rabbinic use of this verse, a tension that is ultimately resolved later. The paradoxical shifting of meanings in the Proverbs verse highlights this tension: read alone, the verse instructs a reader to submit to reproach: to be willing to be chastised and corrected in the pursuit of knowledge and ethical formation. Read in the gemara's context, it tells the reader to *not* submit to the text's literal reproach, the curses—at least, not completely: the curses should

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15 Yerushalmi texts are quoted from the Leiden manuscript, with citations given according to the standard Venice edition.
16 מוּסַר יְהוָה בְּנִי אַל־תִּמְאָס וְאַל־תָּקֹץ בְּתוֹכַחְתּוֹ / The discipline of God, my son, do not hate, and do not be repelled by his rebuke.
17 Naeh 2010, 108–111.

be read in one fell swoop, rather than broken into smaller bits. Of course, by leaving the curses in one large reading, the Yerushalmi is ultimately ensuring that they be heard as one, and therefore serve as a disciplinary, reproachful reading for those in the congregation.

Rabbi Levi's statement is also cryptic, although it makes sense in the context of what comes later. The issue at stake is the recitation of a blessing before and after each individual reading. Should the curses be broken up into multiple readings, there would be multiple blessings recited before and after them. This, according to Rabbi Levi, is indecorous: it would mean breaking up a curse with multiple blessings. The gemara goes on to discuss lectionary blessings directly after the next statement.

The last statement in this section, however, encodes a significant amount of information about the way in which *parshiyyot* are established, and the theorization of reading that lies behind them. Rabbi Yose ben Rabbi Bun disagrees with Rabbi Levi, and says that the actual issue at stake is not the interspersing of blessings and curses, and the fragility of the deity's emotions, but rather the proper composition and performance of an oral reading. "One who stands up to read the Torah," he declares, "must begin with a good word, and end with a good word." The force of "good word" is not entirely clear. Is it, quite literally, a "good word?" Should the reading begin with the name of God, for example, or some other divinely favored noun, or perhaps a blessing? Or is "*davar*," the "word," more metaphoric? It could possibly construe an "event," or even a "passage." "Good" in this sense might mean something in which a divine act, or a "good thing" occurs—but as we have already seen, relative order is important in addition to absolute value judgments. Such distinctions, then, are difficult to tease out, although it seems most likely to me that a spectrum exists for the identification of a "*davar tov*." If we take the curses as our example, it seems relatively clear that anything that might be construed as negative—in this case, a strong rebuke— does *not* count as a *davar tov*, hence the *parashah* must go on until the rebukes are completed. The material and the interpretive combine here. A *parashah*'s formation is bounded by both: continuity of content, and the embodied practice of reading it.

The rabbis were not the only literarily-inclined figures in late antiquity concerned with the content and scope of individual portions of text, and if we expand our gaze outward, we can better understand the context within which their specific rubrics formed. Classical orations, of course, needed to be composed according to a specific formula: length, speed, diction, style, and argument were all crucial elements of a public speech in the Greek and Roman worlds, and fundamental aspects of the higher levels of education.[18] Similar principles could govern the phenomenon of public reading: lengthy texts were rarely read aloud in one session, and therefore choosing where to begin and end a reading were important decisions.[19] These rules and notions often

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18 Cf. Cribiore 2001.
19 Cf. Habinek 2005.

come from the educational background of literate elites, and have as much to do with the ways in which texts and reading were themselves learned as they do with ideas about style, grandeur, and elegance.[20]

The Babylonian Talmud contains a relatively lengthy disquisition on the formation of a *parashah* in tractate Megillah, beginning on 21b. This *sugya* makes it clear that the number of readings to be performed on a given day are instrumental in the division of a text into its proper segments. It also testifies to the fact that the verse divisions we today take for granted were, in practice, not set in stone in late antiquity, even if the rhetoric surrounding them attributed their formation to Moses. Additionally, this *sugya* attests directly to the division of a text into smaller parts as a practice used in the education of children.

This *sugya* is very concerned with the reasons that lie behind certain traditions of reading the Torah. It takes its start in this manner, questioning the tradition of reading the Torah in three sections, as mandated in the latter half of MMegillah 4:1. The answer is brought forth in a *baraita* by Rav Assi, placing the coordination of weekday and Sabbath afternoon Torah readings into the tannaitic period. The next question, however, regards the minimum number of verses to be read in one of these liturgies. The correspondence drawn there, between the ten verses and various instantiations of ten utterances, including those by which God created the world, is not proven from a *baraita*, but rather an Amoraic statement.

בשני וב[()][ח]מישי ובשבת במנחה קורין שלשה וג' הני שלשה כנגד מי אמ' רב אסי כנגד תורה נביאים
וכתובים רבא אמ' כנגד כהנים לוים וישראל[21]

On Monday and Thursday, on the Sabbat at Mincha, we read three, etc. What do these three correspond to? Rav Assi said: They correspond to the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings. Rava said: They correspond to the priests, the Levites, and the Israelites.

והא דתאני רב שימי מבירתא דשיחורי אין פוחתין מעשרה פסוקין בבית הכנסת ווידבר עולה מן המנין
והאחרון קורא ארבעה הני עשרה פסוקין כנגד מי שפ'ן סימן אמ' ר' יהושע בן לוי כנגד עשרה בטלנין
שלבית הכנסת רב יוסף אמ' כנגד עשרת הדיברות שנאמרו לו למשה בסיני ור' יוחנן אומ' כנגד עשרה
מאמרות שבהן נברא העולם והי נינהי אי נימא ויאמר ויאמר דיש בבראשית הני תשעה הוו בראש'
נמי מאמר הוא דכת' בדבר ייי שמים נעשו

But with regard to this baraita Rav Shimi taught, "We do not read less than ten verses in a synagogue, and "*Vayidabber*" counts for the total,[22] and the last one reads four verses. What do the ten correspond to? SH-P-N-a mnemonic. Rabbi Joshua ben Levi said: They correspond to those who are idle in the synagogue. Rav Yosef said: They correspond to the ten utterances which were

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20 Cf. Larsen 2006. See Roberts 1989 for more on style and poetry in late antiquity, and Brown 1992 for a deeper beginning analysis on the importance of education and *paideia* among the elite of late antiquity.

21 Texts from bMegillah are taken from Ms. New York, Columbia T-141, which has been identified by the *Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language* as the best text for Bavli tractate *Megillah*.

22 This is a reference to verses that state only, "And God spoke to Moses, saying [...]".

spoken to Moses at Sinai. And Rabbi Yochanan said: They correspond to the ten speeches by which the world was created. What were these? Instances of "*vayyomer*" in *Bereishit*? But there are only nine! *Bereishit* is almost a speech, for as it is written, "That by the word of God, the heavens were made [and the wind of his mouth, all their host]" (Ps. 33:6).

There is a rhetorical move in these statements that shifts the scope of the Torah reading from a literary context ("they correspond to the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings") to a cosmic context ("They correspond to the ten speeches by which the world was created"). A performative criterion—no less than ten verses being read—is linked to the foundation of the world. The Torah, Prophets, and Writings are, of course, the traditional Jewish divisions of the Hebrew Bible—divisions that, as we see here, were present during the later Babylonian rabbinic period.[23]

It is also, I think, no coincidence that the interpretive statements are made by rabbis of increasingly earlier generations as they progress. Rav Yosef, who identifies the ten utterances with the Ten commandments—another literary connection—was a Babylonian Amora. In some manuscripts, an additional line follows, in which Rabbi Levi associates the ten verses with King David's ten "utterances" when he recited the Psalms. Rabbi Levi was possibly the father of Rabbi Yehoshua, an earlier Amoraic figure, and his connection of the ten verses to the ten recitations of the book of Psalms is a likewise literary gesture, connecting the verses of the *parashah* to the content of the text itself—a text, however, that would not be read in a liturgical setting like the Torah would be. Rabbi Yochanan, who ultimately connects the ten verses of a Torah reading to the very act of creation itself, was, according to the rabbis' own testimony, the founder of the school of Yavneh, an important early figure in the rabbinic movement, a seer, and a rabbi who survived the fall of the Second Temple.[24] The authority of the claims is linked to the cosmic nature of the text they are being made about: to read ten verses of the Torah, the bare minimum required, is to participate, in some manner, in the creation of the world.

The next section of the text focuses on the actual practice of reading these ten verses in three differentiated readings: when only ten are read, this means that one reading must be composed of four verses, and the other two of three verses. These are largely physical criteria: the actual grouping of the verses is important to their liturgical reading. Which reading is longer, who reads it, and the honor the reader gains from reading a longer text are sources of much debate for the rabbis, although they do not bear directly on our discussion here. We rejoin the text at the very end of

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23 For rabbinic descriptions of the Bible as composed of *Torah*, *Nevi'im*, and *Ketuvim*, see bShab 88a, bSanh 101a, bKid 49a, bMoedKatan 21a.

24 It is possible that this Rabbi Yochanan is not Yochanan ben Zakkai, but rather a later Amora: in which case, the text does not move through a progression of earlier and earlier authorities. Even if this is the case, however, an early reader of the gemara (and later readers, like this one) might still associate the name Yochanan with an earlier generation of rabbinic activity.

bMegillah 21b, when mMegillah 4:2, which instructs that there be four readings on New Moons and the first days of festivals, is introduced.[25]

An important feature of this section is the usage of the Hebrew word *parashah*/ פרשה. While today the word is most commonly used in religious Jewish circles to refer to either the weekly division of the Torah into "portions," or the division of those portions into specific readings, it seems to have a slightly more amorphous quality in this *sugya*. It sometimes seems to indicate the entirety of a set reading—"*Parashat Rosh Chodesh*," for example, signifies the entire reading for the New Moon. Other times in the same passage, however, it clearly indicates a particular division of the text, and is perhaps best conceived of as we might consider a paragraph.

> בעא מניה עולא בר רב מרבא פרשת ראש חדש כיצד קורין אותה צו את קרבני דהויא תמניא
> פסוקי היכי נעביד תרי תלתא תלתה פשו לה תרי ואין משיירין בפרשה פחות משלשה פסוקין ליקרו
> ארבעה ארבעה וביום השבת תרי ובראשי חדשיכם חמשה הינו ליעביד ליקרו תרי דהא וחד מיהך
> אין מתחילין בפרש(ת)[ה] פחות משלשה פיסוקים ליקרו תרי דהא ותלתה מיהך פשו להו תרי ואין
> משיירין בפרשה פחות משלשה אמ' לו זו לא שמעתי כיוצא בו שמעתי דתנן ביום הראש' בראשית
> ויהי רקיע פרשה גדולה קורין אותה בשנים קטנה קורין אותה ביחיד ותאני עלה בראשית בשנים ויהי
> רקיע באחד

[At the New Moons, and on the intermediate days of holidays, four read … etc.] Ulla bar Rav raised a problem from this before Rava: The *parashah* of Rosh Chodesh, how does one read it? "And command [the children of Israel and say to them,] 'My offerings,'" is eight verses, what is to be done?[26] If you say that two should read three verses each, then only two remain, and we cannot leave less than three verses in a *parashah*. You might say let each read four—then seven will be left. "And on the Sabbath," [the next paragraph] is two verses, "And on your New Moons" [the paragraph after that] is five, so what is to be done? Should he read two verses from this and one from the next, [this violates] that we do not begin to read a *parashah* with less than three verses. And if he should read two from this and three from that one—then there are only two remaining! He said to him: "I have not heard of this problem, but I have heard about one similar. As we learned: "On the first day of creation," "And let there be a firmament." The large *parashah* is read by two people, the small one reads together. And they taught regarding it: Two read "Bereshit," and one reads "Let there be a firmament.""

The important points of this section are that the reading for the New Moon / *Rosh Chodesh* (or the first part of this reading) is composed of three sections, one of which is eight verses long, one two verses, and one five verses; there are supposed to be

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25 "On New Moons, and on the intermediate days of festivals, four read. They do not reduce from that, and they do not add to it, and they do not conclude it with the Prophets. The one who begins and the one who ends in the Torah blesses before it and after it. This is the general rule: every day on which there is an additional offering, but is not a Good Day (a holiday), four read. On a holiday, five read. On Yom Kippur, six; on Shabbat, seven. They do not reduce from them, but they may add to them, and they conclude with the Prophets. The one beginning and the one ending in the Torah blesses before it and after it."

26 The issue here is the division. The first paragraph alone is eight verses, and not dividing it into pieces would mean that the remaining readings are too short.

four readings, each reading must have at least three verses, and (this is the part that throws everything into confusion) sections of the text should not have "orphan lines." This last stipulation means that in a paragraph of eight verses, two three-verse readings would leave two verses orphaned at the end, unable to constitute an entire reading on their own, and unable to be added to another, as they might cross the boundaries that are themselves written into the text.

The solutions that are offered in this section create more problems. If the first paragraph of eight verses is divided into two readings, then the next two paragraphs are troublesome to divide: though they are seven verses in total, the fact that the first paragraph is simply two verses means that more must be added to it. If an appropriate amount is added, however—and the text instructs that a full three verses from the beginning of a paragraph must be utilized—then the remainder of the paragraph is too short for a proper reading.

The entire dilemma is presented as a question that Ulla bar Rav brings to Rava. Rava claims that he is stymied, but he proceeds to speak about a similar problem: the Sunday Torah reading of the *ma'amadot*,[27] the non-priestly watches, which is comprised of the first two days of creation, is similarly eight verses,[28] with the first day comprised of a paragraph of five verses, and the second a paragraph of three. He cites a tannaitic tradition, which is also paralleled on bTaanit 26a,[29] that the first paragraph of five verses should be read by two people, and the second paragraph by one. This is a problem, of course: one or the other of the readers of the first paragraph will only be reading two verses. The Gemara agrees, and articulates this problem.

והוינן בה: בשלמא יהי רקיע, באחד - דתלתא פסוקי הוו, אלא בראשית בשנים? חמשה פסוקי הוו,
ותניא: הקורא בתורה לא יפחות משלשה פסוקים! ואיתמר עלה: רב אמר: דולג, ושמואל אמר: פוסק.
רב אמר דולג, מאי טעמא לא אמר פוסק? קסבר: כל פסוקא דלא פסקיה משה אנן לא פסקינן ליה

And we discussed it: Granted, "let there be a firmament" is read by one, for it is three verses, but "Bereshit" by two? It is five verses, and it is taught: The one reading from the Torah cannot read less than three verses! And it was stated with regard to this: Rav said, "He repeats" and Shmu'el said, "He divides it in half." Rav said he repeats it, how come he does not say to divide it? He believes that every verse that Moses did not divide, we do not divide it."

Two solutions are suggested for the problem paragraph. The first, articulated by Rav, is to repeat the middle verse, making each reading three verses; the second, given by Shmu'el, is to divide the middle verse in half, thus effectively creating a sixth verse. An additional reason is given for the solution that Rav gives: the versification of the Torah is the result of Mosaic activity, and must therefore be preserved at all costs.

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27 mTaanit 4:2.

28 This is stated on bTaanit 26a.

29 פרשה גדולה קורין [אותה] בשנים והקטנה ביחיד (Ms. Munich 140).

This statement is a major indicator of rabbinic ideology. The words of the Torah are not the only part of the Bible that was transmitted by Moses: how those words fit together, the way in which they were written, and the divisions between them were also part of the text that Moses gave. As remnants of Moses' scribal hand, they must be respected and remain unchanged.[30] As all-encompassing as this statement might seem, however, it is not the end of the issue. Shmu'el's opinion is not universally popular, and Rabbi Hanina Qara[31] claims that the dividing of verses into smaller pieces is only acceptable in a scholastic context: so that students may learn them.

ושמואל אמר פסקינן ליה ומי פסקינן והא אמ' ר' חנינה קרא צער גדול היה לי אצל חנינה הגדול ולא התיר לי לפסוק פסוק אלא לתינוקות שלבית רבן הואיל ולהתלמד הן עשויין התם טעמא מאי משום דלא אפשר הכי נמי לא אפשר

And Shmu'el said: We divide it, and how do we divide it? And did not Rabbi Hanina Qara say, "I had great distress on account of Rabbi Hanina the Great, and I did not allow him to divide except for schoolchildren, so that they might be taught! In this case, why is it allowed? Because it is not possible otherwise. Here too—it is not possible otherwise.

The import is clear: dividing verses into smaller pieces is an appropriate activity for the school room, but not for the public reading of the Torah—unless, according to Shmu'el, there is simply no other choice.

The Gemara also offers a reason for Shmu'el's *not* suggesting that the second reader repeat a verse.

ושמואל מאי טעמא לא אמ' דולג גזרה משום הנכנסין וגזירה משום היוצאין

And Shmu'el said, "He divides," how come he does not say, "He repeats it?" It is a decree on account of those who enter and it is a decree on account of those who leave.

The reasoning here, though succinct, is complex: "those who enter" and "those who leave" are typically understood as congregants who leave or enter a synagogue in between readings from the Torah. If a congregant should enter and hear the third verse of Genesis 1 read as the first verse of a reading, he or she might assume that the previous *parashah* had only contained two verses, and therefore be invalid, and improperly performed. To avoid this eventuality, then Shmu'el suggests that the verse itself be divided into two. The concern is with perception, rather than the actual performance, and is meant, I believe, to give us a glimpse of Shmu'el as a particularly thoughtful and sharp interpreter of the law.

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30 There is a tension here with other stammaitic statements: bMenachot 29b, for example, portrays God as the scribal architect of scripture, adding the final touches to the Torah.
31 Hananya in other mss.

The *sugya* does not end conclusively here, but we have seen enough of it to examine the particular concerns about forming a *parashah* that it evinces. A *parashah* is constrained by the internal structure of the text, as well as the external factors of its reading: it can be either (or both) formed by the reader, or a textual division that the reader him or herself responds to and reads. The word *parashah* itself is a useful indicator of what we are looking for: it is both the formal division of the text, written into the material of reading itself, and an interpretive grouping of material, composed from internal criteria—the Yerushalmi's "good ending"—and the external criteria, such as the Bavli's liturgical constraints.

The tannaitic sources discussed, largely from Mishnah and Tosefta Megillah, describe a *parashah* as needing to consist of at least ten verses, made up of three readings of three or four verses each. The Yerushalmi expands on this, providing some internal guidelines and explaining, at least initially, why some *parshiyyot* are longer than others: there are rules of content and continuity that must be observed. Finally, the Bavli's interest lies in both the performance of the reading, and the proper choreography thereof, and it gives several solutions for problems that might arise from the correct reading of properly formed *parshiyyot*.

Late ancient rabbis were not the only elite literate specialists concerned with the actual form of a text: the way it was written, divided, taught, and read. Similar concern with both internal and external factors helped to create the standard divisions of the Homeric epics. By internal factors, I am referring to content and interpretation; by external, I mean concerns regarding length and performance. Both the Iliad and the Odyssey are divided into twenty-four books, which came to be associated with letters of the alphabet by the Hellenistic period. These divisions are more than just accidental: the books are of varying lengths, and while a *general* material concern can be deduced (each book, or several books together, could easily fit on one standard-length roll of parchment),[32] it is clear that there is more at work in the divisions between books. A scroll was typically 16–17 cm to 28–30 cm tall, and between 2.5 to 12 m long; it is reasonable to imagine Homeric books, or groups of Homeric books (or songs as they were known in antiquity) gathered in groups of scrolls.[33] Importantly, both ancient Greek and ancient Jewish scrolls tended to contain only one unit of text, except in rare circumstances.[34] Scrolls used for liturgical reading are typically easily distinguished from those used as amulets or otherwise, although this is not always the case.[35]

The division of Homer into books, or "songs" as they were called in antiquity, however, represents a significant issue in the scholarship: book divsions do not simply happen at the top of columns, or at the end of certain length of material. Scholars

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32 See Cavallo, 2002. Cavallo argues that Greek scrolls were significantly shorter than their Egyptian predecessors.

33 Cf. Cavallo, 2002.

34 Cf. Tov 2004, 39.

35 Cf. Reed 2009.

are divided on when, exactly, it occurred, and how standardized it was. An older consensus view which states that the divisions were imposed by scholars in Hellenistic Alexandria has recently been challenged, although the evidence for this remains somewhat scanty.[36]

Bruce Heiden, on the other hand, has examined the actual book divisions themselves. In two articles—one on the *Iliad* and one for the *Odyssey*—he examines the breaks in the text that the book divisions seem to represent.[37] For the *Iliad*, he concludes that book divisions happen at junctures in the text that follow a consistent pattern. They enclose narrative passages that are somewhat consistent, and draw attention to what he terms "high-consequence scenes": scenes that affect the narrative considerably beyond their occurrence.[38] His examination of the *Odyssey* reveals other important aspects of the text, and both epics at large.[39] Like the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*'s book divisions come after low-consequence scenes, and before high-consequence scenes. Moreover, they occur at points of entrance and exit in the text, and provide useful information, enabling the audience to keep track of the plot and narrative. He suggests that they are, in fact, native to the text itself, to a degree: as the *Odyssey* would not have been performed straight through, the segment markers represent an "intermission".[40]

Heiden's conclusions are compelling, although they ultimately fall short of convincing that the divison of Homer's epics into books, or "songs," are original to the composition of the texts themselves. What seems more likely is a process similar to what we might observe in the biblical text. There are both narrative and textual breaks in the text: these are a result of the various "seams" that come about from the composite redaction of the Bible from a wide variety of sources. Seams can be more or less obvious: the break between Genesis 2:3 and 2:4 is very clearly a gap between sources, and the traditional Jewish lectionary schedule reflects this. At other times, the seams might be more subtly interwoven, such as in the intertwined flood narratives in Genesis 6–8. There is also an additional layer of division possible in the text of the Hebrew Bible: the Masoretic text is written in paragraphs, or *parshiyyot*, a tradition that likely existed in some form at the time of the Babylonian Talmud. Divisions could easily have been traced along the physical paragraphs of the text.[41] In this instance,

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36 Cf. Jensen 1999, 99. The explicit evidence for Homeric book divisions (rather than actual papyrological evidence, which is largely later) comes from passages in Pseudo-Plutarch, Eustathius, a commentary on the fourteenth book by Apollodorus of Athens, and an h-scholion. Nünlist 2006, 47 has suggested that the traditional view of scholars, that Pseudo-Plutarch invented both the divisions and the reasons for them, is less than tenable, given the other evidence.

37 Heiden 1998, 2000.

38 Cf. Heiden 1998, 69.

39 Cf. Heiden 2000, 250–251.

40 Heiden 2000, 259.

41 There are two types of pargraph in the Masoretic text: open and closed. See Khan 2012, 35–37.

dividing the text into separate readings based on internal consistencies would rip the narrative to shreds.

This does not mean, of course, that there was necessarily a formalized structure of dividing the text of the Hebrew Bible into chapters and verses at the moment of composition. It does mean, however, that the activities of those figure who *did* divide the text—late ancient rabbis, and eventually the Tiberian Masoretes—might have done so based on "natural" seams or breakages in the text, at least part of the time. Alexandrian scholars of the Homeric epics may have done exactly the same: read the text of their epics, and with varying degrees of formalization, established divisions based on natural breaks and textual irregularities.

Our three sets of criteria, then, seem to be present at different times in the rabbinic period. Liturgical and performative criteria are present early on, while content-based, or thematic criteria, make their main appearance in the Yerushalmi. Physical criteria are the least explicitly theorized by the rabbis, but this is likely because, in part, these criteria would have been evident in the written, material text of the Torah itself. By examining the ways in which late ancient rabbis implicitly and explicitly divide and excerpt the text of the Torah for liturgical reading, we gain a greater understanding of their orientation towards that text, and their understanding of its place in the world.

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Binyamin Y. Goldstein

Encountering the Grotesque

The Material Scribal Culture of Late Medieval Jewish Magic

1 Introduction

Many spell procedures laid out in the medieval Jewish grimoire literature dictate the use of unusual or grotesque writing materials.[1] Although writing with standard ink on parchment remains the norm, some grimoires prescribe *nomina sacra* or spells to be written on glass, fruit, eggshell, and parchments made from various skins (cat, snake, rabbit, and even human amniotic sac), and with liquids other than ink, such as human blood, blood of various animals, honey, and semen.

In this paper, I will present an abbreviated survey of unusual and grotesque writing material in late medieval Jewish magic texts. Although perhaps unsurprisingly, we have few (if any) extant physical remnants of these spells, my interest lies primarily in the prescriptive aspect of the magic. Why did Jewish practitioners of magic, as scribes, prescribe spells involving such unusual and, at times, repugnant material?

In magic that involves common *materia magica* (such as the usual parchment and ink), we are relegated to mining the *nomina sacra*, the methods for application, and the performance of the magic for connections between the prescribed magic and the promised effect. In magic that involves unusual and grotesque *materia magica*, however, we may be able to detect a specific prescriptional intent behind the media, and a specific connection between the media and the effect. However, we must exercise caution in this endeavor, as Bohak writes:

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[1] The term "unusual" is inherently fraught with imprecision, and is so context-bound as to be rendered useless unless we first determine the context in which it is to be used. For example, silver as a substrate might be fairly unusual when viewing the phenomenon of Jewish scribal culture as a whole. If we were to select a subset, however, such as scribalism within medieval Jewish magic, silver substrates are fairly commonplace. Further, a substrate or ink that may be considered unusual vis-à-vis the subset of the material scribal culture of medieval Jewish magic may be commonplace within a particular text. Thus, when affixing a label of "unusual" to a scribal material, we must remain conscious both of the milieu of the magic (that is, what would have been perceived as unusual to a practitioner of Jewish magic in the premodern era), and of our own milieu (that is, how the label of "unusual" is a heuristically useful term in our study of magic). If we are to use the term "grotesque" as a useful heuristic, then we ought to use it in a manner distinct from our use of "unusual". My inclusion of scribal media in this category in this paper is bounded to the psychological reaction it evinces from a reader; it is thus entirely subjective, and yet, useful. "I know it when I see it" seems to be the most sound parameter for distinguishing the grotesque from the unusual. Whereas unusual scribal material often may be a natural result of the magical genre without a spell-specific connection between material and intended effect, it seems that the grotesque is something more.

> However, valuable as such an approach [of omnisignificance of the forms of magic] might be for the study of Jewish magic, it soon runs into three specific problems. First, the quest for the meaning of every little detail risks over-interpreting the data, and even the basic assumption—that the individual components of a cultic activity have specific meanings—cannot be taken for granted. Second, and most important for the study of magical rituals, the Jewish magical practices (like those of many other societies) are very eclectic, and stem from several different cultural milieus [...]; thus, looking for their meaning within the Jewish cultural framework, when their origins may lie outside it, might lead to some very misleading results. Third, and most important for the present discussion, it must be stressed that the symbolic-cultural interpretation of magical rituals actually bypasses the issue of their rationality. The "thick" description of ritual seeks to show how the details of a given ritual might fit within the framework of the culture which produced it, but it does not help explain the gap between their cultural premises and nature's refusal to play by their rules. In other words, it shows us how a ritual might "work" in the cultural sense of the word, but not how it might actually work in achieving the results it proclaims.[2]

Here we are not concerned, as Bohak is, with the issue of how the prescribed magic might have actually functioned and brought about, psychologically or otherwise, an outcome that could have been interpreted by a practitioner as a satisfactory result. Thus, the third concern that Bohak raises, though an issue for the study of magic in general and even the study of the late medieval European Jewish variety, it is not an issue which we should address here, focusing as we are on the "back end," as it were, of spell creation. Bohak's second issue is one that we shall discuss whenever we find such connections, and one that we must remain conscious of at all stages of research. Bohak's first concern, of course, is one that is very difficult to safeguard against in objective terms.

2 Sources

Most of the texts upon which I drew for the research behind this paper are unpublished Hebrew and Aramaic manuscripts from the Vatican library. I have prepared a fully annotated and content-descriptive catalogue of the magic manuscripts in the Vatican library's collection; this forms the base of much of the data behind this paper.

2.1 Vatican Manuscripts

2.1.1 Vat. ebr. 243

This manuscript of 62 folios was written in Italy around the year 1500.[3] It contains 186 itemized spells, although in actuality only 162 spells are contained therein; the numbering and contents do not always align, and in several places the numbering

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2 Bohak 2008, 47.
3 See Beit Arié et al. 2008, 180–181.

skips.[4] The scribe either made a weak attempt at topical organization or copied from thematic grimoires wholesale, resulting in groups of spells that are topically bound peppered throughout the work.[5]

2.1.2 Vat. ebr. 242

Vatican 242 is an unusual manuscript. Written on paper in a late 15th-century Italian semicursive hand, this short grimoire text is written in Hebrew.[6] On f 31r the title reads, שלי זה ספר הרזים, "This *Sefer haRazim* [book of secrets] is mine," although it is not *the* ספר הרזים, a well-known Jewish grimoire of Late Antiquity.[7] The incipit of the grimoire section reads: זה החלק יש בו ל׳ עניינים בכת של לילין, "This section contains 30 matters regarding the species of demons." It goes on to list a table of contents describing a veritable menagerie of medieval Jewish magic. Most of it is non-textual, lacking a verbal or written spell and relying instead on highly unusual materials and actions.

We might be tempted, bizarre as this text is, to assume that this manuscript is an autograph copy of the work, and that it is the conjuration of one imaginative scribe, executed for purposes other than practical use. Possible functions such a text could have served are entertainment or an illustration of the demonic powers in the world. It is unlikely that this manuscript is an autograph copy of the text,[8] although we cannot rule out any hypothetical *telos* behind the text on this basis alone.

In terms of content, the case of Vatican 242 suggests a perception of association between grotesque scribal material and demonic forces (whether explicit in the spell or implicit in the fact of the magic's aggressive nature) in Medieval Jewish magic. We must further examine items of the text to see precisely how that expresses itself.

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4 As follows: §1–56 intact, §§57–66 omitted, §67–144 intact, §§145–160 omitted, §161–186 intact. Two spells are set off as distinct sections, but are unnumbered (between §115 and §116, and after the last numbered spell, §186)

5 For example, §§2–7 and §§127–129 are wisdom spells, §§135–137 are for childbirth.

6 See Beit Arié et al. 2008, 180.

7 See the classic edition and work on *Sefer haRazim* (Margalioth [ed.] 1966).

8 First, several items that are listed in the table of contents (viz. 17, 22, 24, 27, 28, and 30) are missing from the text itself. Several other items (numbers 13–16, 18–21, 23, 25, 26, and 29) are unnumbered. Second, there are discrepancies in terms of content between the table of contents and text itself. For example, the penultimate spell, which corresponds in subject matter to the penultimate spell listed in the table of contents (number 29, a spell to fly upon the wind), is followed by another spell, unnumbered, which should be the 30th and final item in the work. Item 30 in the manuscript's table of contents is listed as "to heal a fever." However, in the 30th item, we find another spell to fly upon the wind. Item 15, according to the table of contents, is an aggressive incantation to "inflame the mind of a person," whereas the text itself is a protective incantation to exorcise a demon. Interestingly, this incantation is ascribed to Rav Hanina, the rabbinic sage whose name is invoked in a number of Jewish Babylonian magic bowls containing anti-demonic spells. I find it unlikely that a scribe who was composing an original text would compose a table of contents in such slipshod a manner.

2.1.3 Vat. Ross. 356

Written in Camerino, Italy in 1412 by an Ashkenazic scribe, "Jeroham b. Samson the Ashkenazi from Eger[9] for Solomon b. Elijah," this manuscript of 133 folios contains prayers and charms for travelers on folios 81r–94v, and charms, spells, and amulets on folios 95r–100v. The grimoire that spans folios 95r–100v contains thirty-six spells (unnumbered) that span a wide range of magic genres.

2.2 *Shorshe haShemot*

Another major source that I utilized in my research is the mid-17th-century work, *Shorshe haShemot* (שרשי השמות, "Roots of the Names"), by Moshe Zacuto (ca. 1625–1697). Zacuto was a prolific writer. Among his surviving works we encounter a fairly broad generic spread. He composed poetry, legal responsa, theoretical kabbalistic writings, commentaries on rabbinic texts, and magic texts. Zacuto's *Shorshe haShemot* is arranged (loosely) alphabetically; each entry is arranged according to the first letter of the first word in a series of *voces magicae*. These words can be classified as angelic, divine, nonsensical, and foreign-language[10] in nature. After each entry of a magical word or series of words, Zacuto provides the derivation of the name, if he had either a tradition as to the name's derivation or the creativity to discover it himself. He then goes on to describe the manner in which the names work, the kabbalistic significance of the names, or the method by which they are to be used. Often the entry will end with either an ascription to an earlier source, with a note that Zacuto tested the spell, confirming its efficacy,[11] or both.

As one would expect from a text that purports to be an encyclopedic compendium of spells from earlier grimoire literature, there are many parallels between the contents of Zacuto's work and the magic that we find in extant manuscripts that predate this 17th-century compilation. A large number of the items are explicitly sourced, but there also remains a considerable percentage of anonymous items. It is fairly easy to detect the hand of Zacuto in the composition of the work, and he seems to have been honest with attribution. Due to the lack of a critical text (such a work would be a monumental undertaking), I utilized the printed edition in my research presented here, in conjunction with several of the earliest manuscripts of the work.[12]

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9 The Czech city Cheb (German: Eger), on the river Ohře.
10 Arabic (e. g. *s. v.* אבליס), Greek, Latin, and other languages are used.
11 See, e. g. *s. v.* שמשיה.
12 Including MS NLI MSS-D 266 and University of Manchester Library, Gaster Hebrew MS 765.

3 Continuity and Innovation in Medieval Jewish Magical Tradition

Before we investigate the question of Jewish magicians' intentions when composing or prescribing magic processes that employ grotesque elements, we must first address the question of the provenance of the texts from which we draw our data. It would be methodologically less-than-optimal to analyze magical texts from wildly different time periods in the same stroke, or to do so without first establishing the possibility that a thread of continuity runs through them. While it is certainly the case that the scribe-authors of late medieval Jewish grimoires exercised a certain degree of creativity, many of their spells find their sources in earlier texts, some of which are attested in the magical literature preserved in the Cairo Genizah.

In a recently-published article, Bill Rebiger discusses writing materials used in ancient and early medieval Jewish magic. The titular spell, one intended to cause a person who has become wayward and a sinner to repent, is to be written on three ribs of a sheep or other domesticated animal. The ribs are subsequently cast into a fire.[13] Minor issues with his specific argument surrounding this particular spell aside, his analysis is intriguing. He does not note (nor is it pertinent to his argument) that this very same spell appears several centuries later in an early 15th c. northern-Italian manuscript written in a Sephardic semi-cursive hand. My own transcription and translation follows:

Vat. ebr. 188f. 84v

קח ג׳ צלעות של שור או של כבש וכתוב
עליהם משביע אני עליך סמאל המלאך
ולמפריאל המלאך. הפכיאל המלאך ופוריאל
המלאך זהריאל המלאך צדקיאל המלאך
בשמו שלמי שאמר והיה העולם [࣭࣫࣫]
שתהפכו לבו וכליותיו של פלו׳ בן פלו׳
ליראת א-להים ואהבה גדולה לשם א-להים
ויהיה ביראת א-להים ובאהבתו כל ימי חייו
א״א ס״ס. ואם תעשה בטהרה יחזור בעל
כרחו. אך ביום שני או ביום חמישי בג׳ שעות
ביום ותבעיר התנור יפה ותשליך הצלעות
בתוך התנור.

T-S K1.28f. 2v14

להפוך דעת האדם כת]וב[על ג׳ צלעות של כבש או
שום בהמה ולא תהיה (!) בשר על הצלעות משביע
אני עליך סמאל הסטן קפציאל המלאך ולמפריאל
המלאך הפכיאל ופוריאל צדקיאל המלאך בשם
שאתם קורים לפניו שתתהפכו לבו וכליותיו של פב״פ
ליראה גדולה ואהבת שמים על שמו של פב״פ כל
ימי חייו אמן סלה. ותשלך הצלעות באש או בתנור.

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13 Cf. Rebiger 2017, 351–352
14 Schäfer/Shaked (eds.) 1994, 137–138: CUL TS K1.28, fol. 2b/13–21

Vat. ebr. 188 f. 84v

Take three ribs of an ox or of a sheep and write on them,

"I adjure you Samael the angel, and Mafriel the angel, Hafkhiel the angel and Puriel the angel, Zahariel the angel and Tzadkiel the angel,

in the name of the One who spoke and the world existed [...],[15]

that you turn the heart and kidneys of so-and-so son of so-and-so to the fear of God and great love toward God. And may he be in [a state of] fear and love of God all the days of his life. Amen! Amen! Selah! Selah!"

And if you do so in [a state of] purity he will repent against his will. Just on a Monday or a Thursday at three hours into the day, stoke the furnace well and cast the ribs into the furnace.

T-S K1.28 f. 2v

To turn the mind of a person:

Write on three ribs of a sheep or of any domesticated animal (and there should be no flesh on the ribs),

"I adjure you Samael the Satan, Kaftziel the angel and to Mafriel the angel and Hafkhiel and Puriel and Tzadkiel the angel,

in the name of the One before whom you bow,

that you turn the heart and kidneys of so-and-so son of so-and-so to great fear and love of heaven on the name of so-and-so son of so-and-so, all the days of his life. Amen! Selah!"

And cast the ribs into a fire or furnace.

Minor differences notwithstanding,[16] this spell clearly serves as a striking example of continuity of traditions between the earlier medieval Jewish magic preserved in the Cairo Genizah and later medieval European Jewish magic.[17]

The examples of spells found in the medieval Jewish grimoire tradition that reflect more-or-less unchanged versions of spells found in texts from the Cairo Genizah problematize the assignment of a medieval European milieu to these grimoires' content, or at least doing so in a wholesale manner. Proper analysis of these spells in an all-encompassing, thorough, item-by-item fashion is a desideratum.

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15 These vocalized circles are strikingly similar to the *tetrapuncta* that Second Temple-era Jewish scribes employed to signify the tetragrammaton. See Tov 2004, 206–207.

16 *Viz.*, the designation of Samael as "the angel" as opposed to "Satan," the difference of two of the angelic names, the excision of the divine invocation, and the addition of more detailed instructions. It is intriguing to note that Zacuto records the angelic name הפכיאל (*ad loc.*) and writes simply "These angelic names have great power in adjuration in the name of Samael Afiel Tamtiel," though no result or effect is listed. This could be a preservation of the adjuration of Hafkhiel along with Samael, though the spell itself has fallen away.

17 As another example we may cite *Shorshe haShemot* (ב:ס), where we find a love spell involving the use of a strip of cloth from a victim's clothing as a wick for a candle upon which are inscribed the *nomina sacra*. This spell is similar to Genizah love spells (TS AS 142.174, fols 1r and 1v, cloth amulet, discussed by Rebiger 2017) that involve a clothing item of the victim. Although the *voces magicae* may differ, and the late medieval spell operates through the sympathetic magic act of burning the candle, thus inflaming the heart of the cloth wick's owner, they both involve clothing of the victim, and may stem from the same tradition.

4 The Magic

4.1 Human Blood

Human blood plays a relatively minor role in the scribal aspect of late medieval Jewish magic. I have located a number of spells[18] from three different sources prescribing different spell-texts but all involving the writing of magic letters on the forehead of the patient (see below, 4.5.1 for discussion of these spells), with the blood of the patient's own nosebleed serving as ink.

As in magic found in the Cairo Genizah and other early medieval Jewish magic, blood often is associated with love magic.[19] In the magic texts surveyed in this paper, we find only one human blood-magic act prescribed as a love spell. In Vat. 243 §36, blood is to be drawn from fourth finger, and is to be used as ink to write on vellum:

> Love: Two or three days after the *molad* [mean lunar conjunction], go to an open place, pierce your fourth finger and extract blood from it. Write these names on vellum [...] and shout these names in a loud voice. Go to a place where she goes or passes, bury it there, and you will see a wonderful result.

Although a connection between the calf vellum and the new moon[20] cannot be ruled out, the connection between the specification of the fourth finger and the effect of the love magic is unmistakable. The concept of the *vena amoris* is found in late medieval Jewish sources, as in Abraham Zacuto's work on history, *Sefer Yuhasin* (ca. 1505):

> ובשנת ג׳ אלף ות״כ היה החכם פרומטיאוש והוא למד התכונה בהרים ולימדה למלכות שירייא בזמן
> ההוא והוא הוציא האש מהאבן והוא לימד שיהא הטבעת באצבע רביעי ששם וריד הלב לשמחו ואז
> היה דת ברומא השופטים והשרים ישימו טבעת של זהב והאחרים מכסף והעבדים מברזל וכלם שבחו
> לזה החכם.

> And in the year 3420 [ca. 1780 BCE] lived the wise man Prometheus, who learned astronomy in the mountains. He taught it to the Syrian kingdom at that time. He brought fire forth from stone. He taught that the ring should be worn on the fourth finger, for there is the vein of the heart to make it glad. Thus came about the custom in Rome that the senators and the rulers would wear a gold ring, and the rest of the people would wear a ring of silver, and the slaves a ring of iron. Everyone praised this wise man.[21]

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18 *Shorshe haShemot* ב:כ (*s. v.* בקם) and רפו א (*s. v.* אופילה אופילא); MS Vatican Rossini 356f. 100r–100v; MS Vat. ebr. 243, §85.

19 See, e. g., Swartz 2006, 312.

20 For other bovine-lunar associations, consider Nanna/Sin, the Mesopotamian moon god, and his depiction as a bull. This depiction has wide-ranging significance in Sumerian and Akkadian texts. A ca. 8th-c. Bethsaida stele provides a depiction that is perhaps relevant. Although the horns are compared to those of the gazelle, the new moon's "head" is described as that of a calf in the humorous story related in b. Roš Haš. 22b.

21 Zacuto 1962, 234a.

4.2 Animal Blood

Animal blood found a certain degree of popularity in ancient magic,[22] although its use seems to have continued into the medieval era in a more measured degree. Magic texts from the Cairo Genizah prescribe the writing of spells in various animals' bloods, some of which are discussed by Rebiger and others. In the later medieval Jewish magic recorded in the grimoire literature, animal blood is used much more sparingly.

Although *halakha* has nothing particularly negative to say regarding the blood of pure (*kosher*) animals,[23] there is still a taboo, to employ the Frazerian term, surrounding it. Biblical and rabbinic law forbid the consumption of animal blood,[24] and the blood of fowl and undomesticated mammals must be buried ritually after their slaughter, according to biblical and rabbinic law.[25] In the contemporary (with these magic texts) standard *halakhic* work, the *Shulhan Arukh*, Yosef Karo codifies the statement of an earlier halakhist, מי ששחט הוא יכסה ואם לא כיסה וראהו אחר חייב לכסות ("The one who slaughters should be the one who covers [the blood], but if they did not cover [it] and another person saw them, [the other person] is obligated to cover [the blood].")[26]

It is somewhat surprising, then, to find spells involving the use of fowl blood as ink, as in the following spell.

Vat. ebr. 243 §25

[...] שלא יזק ולא יאבד דם מעולם כתוב בדם תרנגולת שחורה בקלף צבי כשר אלו השמות בטהרה
ולא יזק מעולם.

> In order never to be harmed or lose blood, write in the blood of a black hen on deer parchment that is valid to use for holy scrolls when he is in a pure bodily state these names [...] and he will never be harmed.

The connection between the blood as ink and the prevention of bodily harm or blood loss is clear, although the reason for the specification of fowl-blood, and that of a black hen in particular, is unclear. The seal sequence ("names") is found in other medieval Jewish magic texts, although with slight variation in described function.[27] It is likely that the use of fowl-blood only finds accepted use due to its precedence in earlier magic, especially the time-hallowed *Sefer haRazim*.[28]

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22 For Sethian magic with donkey's blood, see Amirav 2005, 136. See also Bohak 2008, 203.

23 Although the blood of non-kosher animals, and particularly pig's blood, is found in several instances, seemingly all with the intention of shocking the reader.

24 Gen 9:4; Lev 3:17, 7:26–27, 17:10–12; Deut 12:22–25; b. Ker. 22a; *Yoreh De'ah* §66.

25 *Tur Yoreh De'ah* §28.

26 *Shulhan Arukh Yoreh De'ah*, §28:8.

27 In Vat. ebr. 243 §178, it is for favor and protection, and in Vat. ebr. 239/2f. 10r, it is "to dwell securely in wilderness and city."

28 See Gruenwald 2011, 172ff.

4.3 Semen

Vat. ebr. 243 §68

לאהבה כתוב זה על תפוח אקנאה קאשטור פרגחן ואח״כ תדבק מזרעך על התפוח ואחר שיבש תן
לה לאכול

Love spell: Write this on an apple—[...], and then spread your semen on the apple. When it is dry,
give it to her to eat.

In this spell, semen as a scribal medium is not employed as the ink, strictly speaking,
but rather as a filler for the engraved magic words, or alternatively as a liquid covering
or veneer to coat the writing, as in Vat. ebr. 242 §3 (see above, 4.2). Presumably the
spell is supposed to function by the *voces magicae* imbuing the apple, symbolizing
love,[29] with magical power, and then the semen specifying that that power be sexu-
ally connected to the practitioner, from whom the semen derives. Upon ingesting the
apple, the magic takes effect on the woman. Also potentially at work here is a sort of
mirroring act of the sin of Adam and Eve, in which Eve gave of the forbidden fruit to
Adam to eat (Gen 3:6) alluded to in the phrasing of the spell instructions תן לה לאכול
"give to her to eat," as opposed to the simpler formulation expected "and after it is
dry, she should eat it" (ואחר שיבש תאכל).[30]

The use of semen is particularly shocking considering both its impure status and
the prohibition against its procurement in Jewish law.[31] To quote again from a contem-
porary work of the manuscript in which this particular spell is recorded:

אסור להוציא שכבת זרע לבטלה ועון זה חמור מכל עבירות שבתורה [...] אלו שמנאפים ביד ומוציאים
שכבת זרע, לא די להם שאיסור גדול הוא, אלא שהעושה זה בנידוי הוא יושב ועליהם נאמר: ידיכם
דמים מלאו (ישעיה א, טו) וכאלו הרג הנפש.[32]

It is forbidden to ejaculate semen in vain. This sin is more severe than any other sin in the
Torah [...] Those who fornicate with the hand and ejaculate semen, not only is it a great sin, but
he who does this is excommunicated, and regarding him it is said "your hands are full of blood"
(Isaiah 1:15) and it is as if he has killed a person.

How this spell came to be in such a milieu can be explained only by the precedence of
seminal magic in earlier Jewish magic.[33]

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29 The use of apples in love magic is well-attested. See Saar 2017, 38.
30 Although it is certainly possible that this is simply an incidental linguistic parallel, as similar for-
mulations occur in other cultural contexts.
31 See Satlow 1994.
32 *Shulhan Arukh, 'Even ha'Ezer* §23:1–2.
33 Swartz 2006, MS TS AS 143. 229,3.

4.4 Amniotic Sac

A minor grimoire called "The Seven Levels" which originates in the *Book of Raziel the Angel* is found embedded in several other medieval Hebrew grimoires.[34] Vat. ebr. 243 records the use of prepared amniotic sac in several of its amulets. The mismatch between the type of magic and the *materia* (amniotic sac) suggests that the author-scribe of this composition simply favored the use of amniotic sac as a substrate. Why this is so is unclear.

Amniotic sac does find its way into medieval Jewish magic outside of the confines of *Raziel*, where it falls squarely into the function which we would expect of it.

> **Shorshe haShemot p. 207 §9**
> לבנים זכרים אם יש יולדת נקבות קח שלייא מהבת האחרונה שתלד ואם לאו כגון שפסקה מלדת
> קח שלייא מאשה אחרת שילדה נקבה וכתוב עליה אלו השמות והחותמות ובלילה א׳ שתטבול קודם
> שתשכב עם בעלה תעשן עצמה בריאה של כבש זכר מבושלת ביין ריחני וטוב ותקבל העשן ברחמה
> כן תעשה ג׳ לילות רצופים וביום הרביעי תשים על לבה זאת השלייא וגם בעלה ימשח ערותה שתשכב
> עמה (!) במרה של תרנגול ותראה פלאות וראוי להסתירו ובחרם ובשמתא יהיה מי שיעשה זה לנכרית

> For male children: If there is a [woman] who is giving birth only to female children, take the amniotic sac from the last girl that she gave birth to, and if [this is not possible], for example, [in a case in which] she has passed menopause (?), take the amniotic sac of another woman who had a female child and write upon it these names and seals. And on the first night after she ritually immerses, before she lies with her husband, she should cover herself in the smoke of male sheep's lung that has been cooked in good and pungent wine, and she should receive the smoke in her womb. Thus should she do for three consecutive nights. And on the fourth day, she should place over her heart this amniotic sac, and her husband should anoint [his/her] genitals with chicken bile, and they will see wonderful results. And it is fitting to conceal [this spell]. And anyone who does this to/for a gentile woman shall be excommunicated.

4.5 Human Body

Unsurprisingly, spells written on the body all seem to be intended to affect the body itself—whether by ameliorating bodily issues such as difficult childbirth, narcolepsy, or nosebleeds, or by imbuing the body with protective magical power (such as making the skin impervious or making the practitioner immune to drowning).

4.5.1 Forehead

Although in the modern era nosebleed is not usually thought of as anything more than a nuisance, it seems that medieval Jews thought otherwise; spells to stop nosebleeds

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34 E. g., MS Vat. ebr. 243, §§94–100.

abound. In the medical section in the Babylonian Talmud tractate *Gittin*, nosebleed is also addressed, and six spells and therapies are cited.[35] Most of the medieval Jewish healing spells for nosebleeds that I have encountered involve the writing of magic names on the forehead of the patient. This seems to have no precedent in the talmudic magico-medical lore on nosebleeds. So we ask with regards to the late-medieval pre-scription: Why the forehead?

Vat. Rossini 356 f. 100*r–v*

לאדם היוצא לו דם מן האף כתוב זה על מצחו
ומיד יעמוד. שפר שפרע שנגוטה.
ד״א קח מדמו וכתוב
אילו האותיות במצחו. קיטא
בקיסם של עין[36]

For a person who has a nosebleed, write this on his forehead [in ink] and it will stop immediately. ŠPR ŠPRʿ ŠNGWTH
Another: Take from his blood and write these letters on his forehead. QYTA BQYSM ŠL ʿYN[37]

Vat. ebr. 243 §85

לדם היוצא מן הנחירים כתוב על מצחו זה השם אל״י פילפילי״ן ויעמד מיד

For blood that is running from the nostrils, write on his forehead this Name: ALY PYLPYLYN[38] and it will cease immediately.

Shorshe haShemot s. v. בקם

בקם מוצאו מסופי תיבות אברה״ם יצח״ק יעק״ב ובא״ת ב״ש יוצא שד״י וכחו להעציר דם אמור ג׳
פעמים מזמור לאסף א-להים וכתוב זה השם מדמו במצחו ואם יזוב יכתוב פעם ב׳ וג׳ ויעמוד. מסכ״י

BQM Its source is from the final letters of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Its power is to stop blood. Say psalm 79 thrice, and write this Name on the patient's forehead with their blood, and if it continues to flow, write it a second, a third time, and it will cease. From a manuscript.

The forehead and nose are seen as paired body parts in several instances in rabbinic literature. The most frequently-cited context of their pairing is when the forehead and nose together comprise the essence of the human face for purposes of recognition.

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35 b. Giṭ 69a. See Geller 2000.

36 These *nomina barbara* may be related to or derive from the expression "טול קיסם מבין שיניד/עיניד ("remove the splinter from between your teeth/eyes." Although the reading קיסם with עין is obviously a corruption under the influence of טול קורה מבין עיניד that follows it, the corrupt version of the text had much currency among medieval rabbinic writers and was obviously the version of the *aggadah* that was familiar to the progenitor of this spell. See b. B. Bat. 15b, b. ʿArak. 16b, *Ruth Zuta* 1:1, and for medieval writers who perpetuate the corrupt text and potentially served as a source for our magic practitioner, see Menahem Meiri on *mAvot* 1:16 [17] (*s. v.* כ״אח ואמר).

37 Alternatively, the unintelligible "Summer in (?) the splinter of the eye."

38 The possibility that these *nomina barbara* derive from a medical text prescribing peppers (Aramaic and Hebrew פלפלין, Arabic فلفل) should not be discounted.

b. Yebam. 120a

תנו רבנן: פדחת ולא פרצוף פנים, פרצוף פנים ולא פדחת אין מעידין עד שיהו שניהם עם החוטם.

The rabbis taught: [If the witnesses saw] the forehead and not the face, or the face and not the forehead, they cannot testify [that it was the husband whom they saw die] until they see both the forehead and the face together with the nose.

Here, the Talmud discusses the requirements for the testimony of witnesses to a husband's death to free a woman to remarry. Although in none of the classical rabbinic phrasings are the forehead and nose *alone* singled out as identifying features, already in the geonic period, formulations of this ruling began to circulate with the "face" element excluded, as in the following quote from Simeon Qayyara's *Halakhot Gedolot* (ca. 850 CE).

נפל במים שאין להם סוף בשני עדים ודאי מימת מיית לגבי ממון נחתין יורשים לנכסיו לגבי אשה אחמירו ביה רבנן עד דאמרי סימני פדחתו וחוטמו ושאר סימנין שלו.

If a man fell into waters that have no end in the presence of two witnesses, he has certainly died. For monetary matters, the inheritors may descend upon his possessions. For marital matters, the rabbis were stringent until the witnesses can testify as to the characteristics of his forehead and nose, and his other physical characteristics.[39]

The forehead and nose are paired in non-legal contexts, as well. In the following midrashic phrase-by-phrase explication of Qohelet 12:2,[40] the "sun and light" are interpreted as a reference to the forehead and the nose.

עד אשר לא תחשך השמש והאור—זו פדחת והחוטם, והירח—זו נשמה, והכוכבים—אלו הלסתות, ושבו העבים אחר הגשם—זו מאור עיניו של אדם, שהולך אחר הבכי.

"Before the sun dims, and the light" (Qoh 12:2)—this refers to the forehead and the nose, "and the moon"—this refers to the soul, "and the stars"—this refers to the cheeks, "and the clouds return after the rain"—this refers to the light of the eyes of a person, which departs after crying.[41]

Having established the association between the forehead and the nose in medieval Jewish literature, the motive behind the selection of the forehead as a scribal substrate in the context of a spell intended to affect the nose is clear. The *voces magicae* are inscribed on the limb most closely associated with the affected organ, and the magic flows between them. Simple practical difficulty of writing on such a flexible and contoured surface as the human nose is most likely the reason that the nose itself is eschewed as a substrate. The forehead thus serves as a suitable substrate that was

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39 *Halakhot Gedolot* §31.
40 Also found in *Lev. Rabbah* 18:1 and *Qoh. Zuta*, *ad loc.*
41 b. Šabb. 151b.

seen as physiologically connected to the nose. The use of the nosebleed blood as ink in conjunction with the forehead substrate would have been thought of as a powerful formulation of an anti-nosebleed spell.

In addition to nosebleed spells, I have found several exorcism spells prescribed to be written on the forehead.[42] Again, the reason for the selection of the forehead is clear—the nose is the focus in the spell, and the spirit is to be extracted from the nostrils. The same motive can be detected in the prescription of exorcistic spells to be written on the hand (see below, 4.5.2).

4.5.2 Hand

Of the very popular genre of dream request spells,[43] several are prescribed to be written on the hand.[44] It is possible that this is due to the (potential) position of the hands beneath the head, where nearly all dream request amulets are prescribed to be placed.

In one exorcism, Zacuto prescribes a series of *nomina barbara* to be written on the hand of the afflicted, and four other *nomina* to be written, each on one finger. Presumably, the writing of the sacred names on the fingers is to protect them from a potentially catastrophic exit by a spirit. Bound and protected as they are by the names, the spirit cannot but exit from the single finger that is left unbound, and from which the exit of spirits was deemed safe in medieval Jewish exorcistic practice.[45]

Many spells that involve the use of the hand or parts of the hand as a scribal substrate are not designed to function with the imbuing of magical power in the substrate. Several exorcisms that involve writing on the hand of the patient prescribe the licking of the ink off of the hand as the exorcistic mechanism.[46] Imbibing magical writing by licking the written spell off of the body is found in several contexts, going back to earlier medieval Jewish magic. In this scribal act, the magic effect or energy is not transferred to the substrate (or shared in the ink-substrate nexus), as it is in the creation of amulets, but rather is preserved in the physical ink that forms the letters comprising the *voces magicae*. We may then ask: what is the conceptual function of the substrate? If the ink alone is acting as the substance that is magically formed (in the very act of writing), of what use is the specification of a substrate, and in our case, such a

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42 *Shorshe haShemot s. v.* רדפיאל.

43 Idel 2006, esp. 91–119.

44 *Shorshe haShemot s. v.* רפריאל and אדונירם.

45 Although it is not stated, it is fair to assume that the finger that is left unbound is the little finger. The little finger is frequently used in rabbinic literature as the superlative extremity of the body (see, e. g. Gen. Rabbah 46:4, b. Ketub. 103a, and Avot deRabbi Natan 2:1). While the late-medieval and early modern references to exorcism by way of the little finger generally refer to the pinky *toe* of the left foot and not the little finger of the hand, it is possible that an earlier form of this belief is operating here.

46 *Shorshe haShemot s. v.* באבוגין ff.

specific and bizarre one, at that? Rebiger cites a Genizah wisdom spell to be written on the fingernail and licked off; this spell (or a later reflex of it) is found in Zacuto's work.[47] Rebiger further points to the similarity to the popular Ashkenazic schoolchild initiation magic rite.[48] We may distinguish between these two magical acts in that in the case of the school initiation rite, the writing on a cake imbues the cake with magical efficacy, whereas here, it is the material writing *in and of itself* that provides the magical effect.

These substrates seem to go together, as it were; smooth, hard, non-porous materials are favored for dissolving-writing magic. Thus, we can state that it is likely that the selection of the fingernail is due more to its physical characteristics than to its magical implications, although that may vary in a case-by-case basis. For example, we might connect the healing of a venomous bite[49] with writing on the hand and the subsequent licking off of the *voces magicae* with the ancient idea that wolves, lions, and other animals have venom in their claws which they inject into their prey.[50] The mechanism would then be a sort of sympathetic magic by which the locus of writing focuses the healing power of the magic writing, which is then ingested (licked) by the patient. Thus the patient simultaneously is performing a ritualistic licking action which takes effect by magical imitation, and absorbing the magic into the body where it can begin to heal.[51]

4.5.3 Mouth

Writing in the vicinity of the mouth, as previously shown with regards to the hand, is prescribed for exorcism. The mouth was thought of as one of the entryways by which an evil spirit might come to possess a person. Thus, it is entirely logical that medieval Jewish sorcerer-scribes should compose spells to be written on the mouth. What is surprising is that writing on the mouth is so rarely prescribed.[52] What precisely is intended by "mouth" in those few prescriptions is unclear; is the prescribed substrate the lips, tongue, cheek, gums, or teeth? Like the nose, all parts of the mouth are not particularly suited for use as a scribal substrate, with their contoured and soft fleshy

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47 *Shorshe haShemot s. v.* געונם. The spell is further embellished with an accompanying incantation.
48 Rebiger 2017, 354. See also Marcus 2015, esp. chapter 2. See *Shorshe haShemot s. v.* פתחיאל for a spell to be written on a mother's breast immediately prior to nursing, with the intended effect of increasing the intelligence of the child, and Ross. MS 356f. 110v prescribing an angelic adjuration to be written on glass and dissolved in water, both invoking a supernatural entity strikingly similarly named as that adjured in the medieval Ashkenazic magical child-initiation rites.
49 *Shorshe haShemot s. v.* שר
50 See b. Ḥul. 53a.
51 Licking has a historical and cross-cultural association with healing, hence the English idiom "to lick one's wounds."
52 See, e. g. *Shorshe haShemot s. v.* שברירי II.

quality. Perhaps this material-physical aspect of the substrate explains the dearth of such spells.

4.6 ~~Snake~~ Deer Skin

Readers of the medieval Jewish grimoire literature at times reacted with scribal violence to the materials that their texts prescribed. One such example occurred with Vat. Rossini MS 356, written in Camerino, Italy in the year 1412 (see above, 2.1.3). Here, on folio 96r, we find a spell for path-jumping.[53] The text instructs that the practitioner is to arise in the morning, make himself pure, anoint with olive oil, and then execute the creation of the amulet by writing the incantation on a certain parchment. Here we find a marginal correction by an untrained hand, in which the reader both scratched out *and* drew a line across the erasure, where the prescribed parchment substrate originally was written.

Vat. Rossini 356f. 96r

קפיצת הדרך

ישכים בבקר קודם עמוד השחר ויטבול וימשח כל גופו בשמן זית ויכתוב בעור של [...] **צבי** אילו השמות [...]

Path-jumping

He should arise in the morning before daybreak, ritually immerse, anoint his entire body with olive oil, and write on the skin of a [*erasure*] **DEER** these divine names [...]

Vat. ebr. 243 §102

קפיצת הדרך מה״ר אליעזר מגרמיש״א: ישכים בבוקר עלות עמוד השחר ויטבול ויסוך כל גופו בשמן זית ויכתוב אילו השמות בעור נחש [...]

Path-jumping from Eleazar of Worms:

He should arise in the morning before daybreak, ritually immerse, rub down his entire body with olive oil, and write these divine names on the skin of a snake [...]

When we find the identical spell[54] in another Vatican MS, we discover what the reader of Rossini 356 found so objectionable. The amulet is to be written on snake skin. Although snakes are not characterized as particularly gruesome animals in classical rabbinic literature,[55] some rabbinic sages did hold a particular hatred for them.[56]

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53 Path-jumping is a magical process by which a journey is shortened. See Verman/Adler 1993/94.

54 Although the two spells do vary slightly: the version in Vat. ebr. 243 provides an ascription, the verb for "anoint" differs from one text to the other, and the word order is slightly different.

55 Indeed, snake skin is identified as the material of the primordial clothing of Gen 3:21 in a statement ascribed to R. Eliezer in *Midrash Shoher Tov* 92:6 and *Pirqe deRabbi Eliezer* 20.

56 E. g. R. Akiva in *Mekhilta Beshallah* 2.

Although it is possible that the reader was not actually objecting to the snake skin due to its grotesque nature, but rather due to a variant in another manuscript to which they had access, I find this unlikely. In marking a manuscript with a marginal note or correction, Jewish readers of texts nearly always appended a partially explanatory note such as "should read: X," and "in another manuscript: X." This was not a correction of the spell to what it was supposed to be, but a visceral alteration of the text. We can perceive the emotional disturbance of the reader in the mode of the correction; the word "snake" is both scratched out *and* a strike mark is drawn over it. It is noteworthy that none of the other spells prescribed in this short grimoire are of a grotesque nature.

5 Conclusions

While in many cases there is a clear correspondence between the media prescribed and the intended effect, that is not always so. Writing substrates and inks may be selected due to their perceived metaphysical or physical connection to the desired effect or locus of effect (as with blood, amniotic sac, forehead, hand, and mouth), or symbolism (as with apples).

In some instances, the connection may have been clear to the scribe-author, but is lost on us. In others, such as many of the spells recorded in Vat. ebr. 242, it may be that the author is including the use of such grotesque *materia magica* with the sole intention of their shock-value, and making the spells more believable to the consumer-reader.

I suspect, though this cannot be proven until we have a fully descriptive catalog of both early and late medieval Jewish magic, that there is a sharp trend in later medieval Jewish magic away from the more grotesque scribal media prescribed by earlier practitioner-scribes. The rabbinization of magic in post-15th century European magic tradition is a subject that requires further research, and may have had a profound effect on the *materia magica* prescribed in Jewish magic texts in the late medieval and early modern periods. We see this development (potentially) at work in the censorship of grotesque materials in earlier grimoires (see above, 4.6). This theory might be tested by searching later medieval magic for innovative magic requiring the usage of grotesque media. If we can find a source or ancestor of each grotesque spell in an earlier source, i. e., if we cannot ascribe innovation to *any* of the grotesque spells found in late medieval Jewish magic, it may very well be due to a conscious eschewing of these materials that are so characteristic of earlier medieval Jewish magic.

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Indices

Abbreviations

ACO	*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*
AE	*L'Année épigraphique*
BGU	*Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*
CGlL	*Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*
ChLA	*Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*
CIJ	*Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CPF	*Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici greci e latini. Testi e lessico nei papiri di cultura greca e latina*
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IIP	*Inscriptions of Israel/Palestine (Database)*
IJO	*Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*
MPER	*Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
PSI	*Papiri greci e latini (Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto)*
SB	*Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*
SHA	*Scriptores historiae Augustae*

1 Papyri, Manuscripts, Inscriptions, and Ancient Artefacts

2 Hebrew Bible

3 Deuterocanonical Works and Apocrypha

4 New Testament

5 Dead Sea Scrolls

6 Rabbinic Literature

7 Ancient and Medieval Authors and Works